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ATHENA POLIAS ON THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

IN many Greek authors from Homer to Suidas, and in inscriptions of classical, Alexandrine, and Roman times, we find references to a cult of Athena Polias on the Acropolis at Athens. The information these give is of a quite varied character: some tell us important facts as to the temple, the image, and the worship of the goddess; others contain little more than the name.

Up to about fourteen years ago had the question been asked, "Where was this temple of Athena Polias?" there would have been but one answer, — "The eastern cella of the building we now call the Erechtheum, and before its erection another temple on the same site." There was but one other possibility, the Parthenon; and that seemed excluded by many considerations, especially if by the temple of the Polias we mean the one in which was housed the most holy and ancient image of olive wood, which was believed to have fallen from heaven.¹ True, there may have been difficulties in applying to this building all the facts given us in our sources, but these were dealt with as well as possible by those who treated the question, and the classical world rested content with this theory.

But, unsuspected by the archaeologists who accepted the traditional view, the buried remains of another temple lay close by, waiting for their discovery and identification by Dr. Dörpfeld,² and their excavation and recovery at the hands of the Greeks. This discovery necessitated the reopening of two important

¹ Paus. I, 26, 6. Quoted below, No. 8, on p. 370.

² See *Athen. Mitth.* X (1885), 275-277.

questions,—that of the Polias temple, and that of the Opisthodomus; and there has been no lack of learned discussion of them on the part of scholars of several nationalities and of varying opinions.¹ Some of these, as Frazer,² maintain the traditional view that the name 'Temple of Athena Polias' is applicable only to the Erechtheum and its (theoretical) predecessor; while Dörpfeld in his latest published treatment, as well as in his lectures 'an Ort und Stelle' asserts that the Polias temple is the one whose ruins lie to the south of the Erechtheum, and that we have no evidence that the old *ξόανον* was ever removed to the eastern cella of the new temple, although this was designed to receive it.

Again, if we wish to decide where was situated the Athenian treasury called the Opisthodomus, it is essential to know the position of this temple; as in our definitions in scholiasts and lexicographers we are told that it lay "behind the temple of Athena," and more definitely by Schol. V to Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1193, who states that it was "behind the so-called temple of Athena Polias."³ If, on the other hand, we can surely identify the Opisthodomus with the whole or part of any existing building, we shall thus be assisted in locating the temple in question.

¹ See Dörpfeld's last article, no. V, in *Athen. Mitth.* XXII (1897), 159 ff., for a summary of the principal treatments of the Polias question; also John Williams White, 'The Opisthodomus on the Acropolis at Athens,' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. VI (1895), 1 ff., and article 'Athena' in Pauly-Wissowa, §§ 11-14, by Dümmler. To these lists must now be added two articles which have appeared since the writing of this paper. These were kindly furnished me by Dr. Dörpfeld. They are by G. Körte, 'Der "alte Tempel" und das Hekatompedon auf der Akropolis zu Athen,' in *Rhein. Mus. f. Philol.*, Neue Folge, Bd. III (1898), 239-269; and A. Furtwängler, 'Zu den Tempeln der Akropolis von Athen,' in *Sitzungsber. der k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1898, Heft. III, 349-390. Brief references will be made to these. Chr. Belger in the *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, November 6 and 13, 1897, argues against Dörpfeld's latest public views. The latest to appear is a paper by A. Milchhöfer, *Ueber die alten Burghelligthümer in Athen*, given at the University of Kiel at the celebration of Emperor Wilhelm II's birthday, January 27, 1899.

² *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIII (1892-93), 153 ff. Reprinted, with a few slight changes, as an Appendix to vol. II of his new edition of Pausanias.

³ Quoted on p. 358, No. 19.

My own special interest in this subject was aroused some four years since, at the time of the publication of Professor White's paper on the Opisthodomus in vol. VI of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.¹ It has been my good fortune

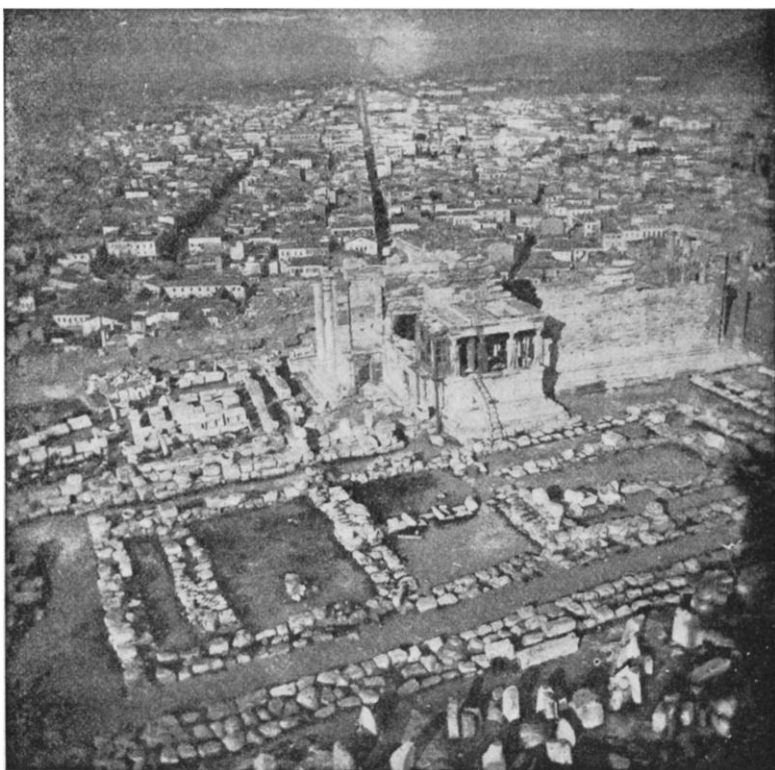


FIGURE 1. — FOUNDATIONS OF THE OLD TEMPLE ON THE ACROPOLIS.
(From the West Pediment of the Parthenon, January, 1899.)

recently to see for myself the remains of the temples on the Acropolis, and to hear Dr. Dörpfeld on the spot set forth his theories of their history. Under the influence of Professor White's treatment, I must confess I was inclined at first to dispute certain points in Dr. Dörpfeld's view, feeling that the

¹ 1895, 1-53.

matter rested more on philological grounds than on architectural considerations, where all would bow to his keen judgment. I was led thus to a more careful study of the subject, and to a fresh collection and examination of all the available literary and inscriptional evidence, which I thought at least would yield useful results, and perhaps clear the way somewhat for subsequent attempts to solve these two problems. The results of these studies I wish to set forth in this paper, and to make some observations of my own on certain points.

The earliest record of the worship of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis is in the *Odyssey* (η 78–81),¹ where the goddess goes from Scherie to Marathon, then to wide-streeted Athens, and enters the πυκινὸς δόμος of Erechtheus the king. This we may take to mean that she had a shrine, or at least received worship, in the royal palace of Athens. This must have stood on the Acropolis, and is placed by Dörpfeld on the same site as his ‘old temple.’²

When the passage in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad*, B 546–552³) was composed, Athena had a rich temple (ἐν πῖονι νηῶ), in which there was associated with her in cult the earth-born Erechtheus, or Erichthonius, to whom the youths of the Athe-

¹ ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
πόντον ἐπ’ ἀτρύγετον, λίπε δὲ Σχερίην ἐρατεινήν
ἔκετο δ’ ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην,
δῶκε δ’ Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον . . .

See Perrin’s note on the passage.

² He has found on this site remains of an older structure, including walls and two column-bases similar to those in the palace at Tiryns, which he identifies with those once standing in the palace of Erechtheus. Thus at Athens, as well as at Tiryns and Mycenae, we should have a temple built over the remains of the royal dwelling. Only one passage seems to imply that the house of Erechtheus was not on the Acropolis; namely, that where he sends his daughter Oreithyia into the Acropolis to offer sacrifice to Athena. See p. 380, No. 49.

³ οἳ δ’ ἄρ’ Ἀθήνας εἶχον, εὐκτίμενον ποτλῆθρον,
δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγάλητορος, ὃν ποτ’ Ἀθήνη
θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος Ἄρουρα,
καὶ δ’ ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἰσεν, ἐφ’ ἐν πῖονι νηῶ·
ἔνθα δέ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἄρνεσι ἰλάονταί·
κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν·
τῶν αὖθ’ ἡγεμόνευ’ υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς.

nians offered sacrifices of bulls and rams. This we find again referred to in an inscription;¹ and we learn from Apollodorus² (III, 14, 6, 6) that Erichthonius was reared by Athena herself in her sacred enclosure, that he set up to her the *ξόανον* on the Acropolis, and that when he died (*ibid.* III, 14, 7) he was buried in the same *τέμενος*.

At the time when Herodotus visited the Acropolis, we apparently find Erechtheus established in a separate temple,³ while the sanctuary of Athena was called *τὸ μέγαρον* or *τὸ ἱρόν*.⁴ I reserve till later the discussion of this subject.⁵

It is from about the middle of the fifth century that we begin to find mention of the 'old temple of Athena'; the term 'old' probably being used with reference to the new temple, the Parthenon, either the earlier one begun by Themistocles or Cimon, or the present building. Here is another point about which the discussions wax hot; some applying the term to the 'pre-Persian temple,' as Frazer styles it, others asserting that it belonged to the assumed temple on the site of the Erechtheum, and then to the Erechtheum, which inherited the name. For convenience I propose to discuss this question first. The passages where the old temple is mentioned are the following:⁶

1. Xenophon, *Hellen.* I, 6, 1. τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἦ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη.

2. Strabo, IX, 16, p. 396. τὸ δ' ἄστυ αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ περιουκονμένη κύκλῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ὃ τε ἀρχαῖος νεὺς τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος, καὶ ὁ Παρθενῶν ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἰκτίνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Φειδίου ἔργον ἐλεφάντινον ἦ Ἀθηνᾶ.⁷

¹ καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίη (ποτ') Ἐριχθόνιον βασιλῆα νηψὶ ἐγκατέθηκε συνέστιον ἔμμεναι ἱρῶν.

(*C.I.G.* 6280, 30 and 31, = Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 1046, 89 and 90.)

² For convenience I shall use the name Apollodorus to designate the little handbook of mythology called Ἀπολλοδώρου Βιβλιοθήκη. For the passages, see below, p. 357, Nos. 3 and 4.

³ VIII, 55. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός.

⁴ As in VIII, 53, 54.

⁵ See p. 396 ff.

⁶ Arranged in the order in which they are discussed.

⁷ Cited again, pp. 357 and 370.

3. Schol. Aristoph. *Lysist.* 273. . . τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κλεομένους Ἑλεουσῖνα κατασχόντων Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς οἰκίας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμευσαν, αὐτῶν δὲ θάνατον ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἀναγράψαντες εἰς στήλην χαλκῇν ἐστήσαν ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον νεών.

4. *C.I.A.* I, 93, 6. γράψ[αντας ἐν στή[λῃ βορρά]θεν τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ ἀρχ[αίου].

5. *C.I.A.* II, 464, 5, 6. καὶ [εἰ]κόν[α] χαλκῇν ἐ[φ'] ἵππου τὸν δῆμον παρὰ τὸν | νεῶ τ[ὸν] ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τ[ῆς] Πολιάδος.¹

6. *C.I.A.* II, 273 h, 6. το(ῦ) ἀρχαῖο(υ) ν[εῶ]; *Ibid.* 10 [το(ῦ) νεῶ το(ῦ) ἀρχ[αῖο(υ) ἐν ἔνδεκα ἔτεσι]ν.²

7. *C.I.A.* II, 650, 2. [ἐκ τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ] ἀρχαῖον ἀπενεγ[κ-].³

8. *C.I.A.* II, 672, 43. [ἀρ]χαίῳ νεῶ το(ῦ) χρυσο(ῦ) ἐγχ[υτ]..

9. *C.I.A.* II, 74 a, 14. .. τα τοῦ ἀρ[χαίου] νεῶ.⁴

10. *C.I.A.* II, 752, 11, 12. [ἡ ἱέρεια παρέ]δωκεν ἐκ τ[οῦ] ἀρχαῖου νεῶ.⁵

11. *C.I.A.* II, 733 A. col. II. ΑΡΧΑΙΟΞ ΝΕΩ[Ξ]. | ἀσπιδίσκιον χρ[υ-
σοῦν ἀπηρτημέ]νον ἀπὸ τῆς π[α]ρα[σταδος]. [ἀσπίς? ἀργ[υρῶν] πρὸς τῇ
παρ[αστάδι, ἣν ὁ δεῖνα] | ἀνέθηκεν. τύπ[ος] χαλκοῦς? πρὸς τ[ῇ] παρ[αστάδι,
[δ]ν B[..... ἀνέθη]κε[ν]. ἐ[ν] τῇ [φ]άτῃ [φιάλαι... | ἀρ]γυραῖ. ἔτε-
ραι φιάλ[αι. ἀνθροκ....] | τῶν [ἱ]ερῶν ἀργυραῖ. [ἀσπίς ἐπ[ὶ] χρ[υσοῦ]ς, ἣν
Ἰφικράτης [ἀνέθηκεν. φιά]λαι ὅπισθεν τῆς θύρας τῆς? | δεξιᾶς
εἰσόντι φι[άλη] ἀργυρᾶ? ἐμ[π]λαισίω. πρὸς τῷ ὑπ..... ὑπερθύρω?
ὑπερώϊω?). φιάλιον μικρὸν ἀργ[υροῦν] πρὸς τῇ | παρ[αστά]δ[ι] τῇ (τῆς?)
ἀριστ[ερᾶς] εἰσόντι. | ἔτερον φιάλιον πρὸς τῇ παρ[αστά]δ[ι] τῇ (τῆς?)
δ[εξιᾶ]ς εἰσόντι. | ἔτερα? φι[άλη] ἀργ[υρῶν] ἐπ[ὶ] χρ[υσοῦ]ς, ἣν | ἦται
[ἀνέθεσαν].⁶

¹ = No. 16, p. 358.

² In this same fragment we have the phrase ἐν ἔνδεκα ἔτεσιν in lines 4, 7, 11, 13; in line 8, Πολιάδος; in line 9, Πολιάδος καὶ Νίκης. The reading in line 6 is my conjecture, as also the τοῦ νεῶ in line 10. In the former case we must suppose that the stonemason had to write ΤΟΑΡΧΑΙΟΝΕΟΟΦΕΝΟΞΙΝ, and omitted one of the ο's. It is difficult to see what to supply to fill out the sense, as ἀρχαῖον is so often used in the sense of 'capital,' and this is an interest account. I have thought of οἱ ταμίαι τοῦ ἀρχαίου νεῶ, but have not yet found a parallel to it in inscriptions. Herodotus, VIII, 51, however, gives ταμίαι τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Another suggestion is τὰ χρήματα. The inscription, however, is of little value to our purpose. The reading τῶν ἀρχαίων seems to me doubtful, because the ν in τῶν has to be supplied. The inscription is not strictly στοιχηδόν.

³ Also doubtful; see note 2.

⁴ Probably χρήματα. Above we have ταμίαι (5, 7), χρήματα (6), ἀγαλμα (8, 15).

⁵ Or τ[οῦ] Παρθενῶνος.

⁶ See O. Jahn's 'Pausaniae Descr. Arcis Athen.,' *App. Epig.* no. 23, p. 53, whence I have copied all after the first two words. In the *C.I.A.* these lines are numbered 6-24. See Köhler's note: "Templum vetus non potest non intellegi Minervae Poliadis." There is another inscription of the same sort (*C.I.A.* II, 735, cited in part, no. 26, p. 371; see Jahn, *op. cit.* *App. Epig.* no. 24), which, as restored in the *C.I.A.*, has the same words from τύπος to ἀνέθεσαν, and then goes on (lines 17-41): [φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ, ἐφ'] εἰ ἐπιγέγραπ[ι]ται. Ἀθηνᾶ

12. *C.I.A.* II, 163, 8 ff. *θύειν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροποιούους τὰς μὲν δύο | [θυσίας τήν τε τῇ] Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ Ὑγμείᾳ καὶ τήν ἐν τῷ ἄρ[χαίῳ] νεῷ [θυο]μένην καθάπερ πρότερον.*

13. *C.I.A.* IV, 1, c. 25–29 (pp. 3 ff.). *[τ]οῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρί[ου τὸ μὲν . . .]. εἰς [μ]εν[ον ταμειν][ε]σθα[ι ἐν περιβ]όλω[ι τῷ νότο][θ]εν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναί[ας ἀρχαίου ν][ε]ῷ ἐμπόλει.¹*

In the first passage Xenophon mentions the year 406 B.C. as signalized by a lunar eclipse and the setting on fire of the old temple of Athena in Athens. If we admit the assumption that there was an *old* temple of Athena once standing on the same site as the Erechtheum, and that the new building retained the name, then we can refer this notice to the recently completed temple; otherwise we must seek the old temple elsewhere. It would, indeed, be a notable event, if this beautiful new structure was damaged by fire so soon after its completion, and a motive for the deed — the fire was incendiary — is not easy to imagine. If, however, the pre-Persian temple, or the Hecatompedon (to use an official title), restored after the Persian wars, but now without its colonnade, was still standing, there is certainly no inherent difficulty in applying to it the statement of Xenophon; for that it was an old temple and one dedicated to Athena no one doubts. Dr. Dörpfeld identifies this fire with the one in the Opisthodomus mentioned by Demosthenes in his oration against Timocrates (XXIV, 136,

Πολι[ά]δι Φρυνίσκο[ς] ἀνέθ[η]κε· ἑτέρα φιά[λη] ἀργυρᾶ, ἐφ' εἰ[ς] ἐπιγέγραπται· [ἱερὰ Ἀθηνᾶς Πολι[ά]δος, ἀνέθ[η]κε[ς] σ]τράτη· φιάλ[η][ον ἀργυροῦν μι]κρό[ν], ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπ[ι]γέγραπται ἀρχ[α]ία [γρὰ]μματα | [.] ἐν ῥόδῳ· ἀσπίδι[α μικρὰ ἀργ]υρᾶ||· πρὸς τεῖ | [φάτνη(?) ἀσπ]ίδες ἀργυραῖ μικρ[α]ῖ[α]· κρανίδια μικρὰ ἀργ[υρᾶ]· δοράτια μι[κρὰ] ἀργυρ[ᾶ] πε[ρ]ὶ τὸν ἥλον περ[ι]επλ[η]μένα· παλλάδιον μικρὸν ἐπὶ κ[α]ίονισκος]ου ἀργυροῦ κόμμυδος μ[ε] οὐκ ἐντελές· γλαυκίδι[ον ἀργ]υροῦν ἐπὶ κιονίσκου π[ε]ρὶ ξίνο]υ μικρόν· φιάλη ξυλίνη ἐ[κ] πίχρ]υσος· ξιφομάχαιραι χαλ[κ]αῖ[ς]||· μάχαιρα ἱππικὴ ἐλ[ε]φ[αντίν]η· πρὸς τεῖ παραστάδ[ος]α χρυσᾶ Δ||· [π]ρὸς [τῷ ὑπ[ε]ροστοναί]φ κύλιξ ἀργυρᾶ | χρυσῇ π

¹ Professor White's citation represents better the original spelling, as follows: τ]ὸ δὲ ἱερὸ ἀργυρί[ο τὸ μὲν ἐκ | τ]ῆς [γενόμε]ν[ον ταμειν][ε]σθαί [ἐν περιβ]όλω[ι τοῦ θπισθ]εν τῷ τῆς Ἀθυναί[ας ἀρχαί]ο[ν] ἐμ πόλει. Dittenberger, *Syll.* 384, c. 113, p. 563, reads νότοθεν. Dr. Dörpfeld adds two letters to the line, and reads ταμειν[ε]σθαί [ἐν ταῖν θ]όλοι[ν ταῖν θπισθ]εν τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναί[ας ἀρχαί]ο[ν] νεῷ | τ]οῦ ἐμπόλει. See below, note 2, p. 355.

p. 743), where we note the use of exactly the same word *ἐνεπρήσθη*.¹ The scholiast on the passage says that the treasurers, in order to cover up their crooked practices, "decided to set the Opisthodomus on fire, that the moneys might be thought to have been consumed by the fire and not by them."² Xenophon and Demosthenes mention these fires as well-known events, and there seems great probability in regarding the two as really one and the same. The treasurers were imprisoned for trial on this account. The extent of the damage done by the fire is not known, but we have an inscription of 395-394 (as commonly dated³) referring to repairs on a burnt temple, which was near the Pandroseum.⁴ We may, perhaps, safely assume that the burnt temple which was repaired in 395-394 was this old temple set on fire in 406, though it seems to have taken the Athenians a long time to get to work. Two explanations occur to us. The distractions of the last years of the Peloponnesian war and the troublous times that followed its close, with a depleted treasury, may have been the cause of the delay in repairing. The other possibility is that the building was not so seriously damaged as to make immediate repairs necessary. This latter supposition is of use to one who maintains

¹ ἀλλ' ὁμως ἅπαντες οὗτοι ὑπέμενον τοὺς νόμους. καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐφ' ὧν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἐν τῷ οἰκῆματι τούτῳ ἦσαν ἕως ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. The use of this verb is an important item, as there is no implication that the building was destroyed.

² ἰστέον ὅτι χρήματα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔκειτο ἐν τινι οἰκῆματι ὀπίσω τῆς ἀκροπόλεως (the text seems corrupt here, or a mistake on the part of the scholiast), τῷ καλουμένῳ Ὀπισθοδόμῳ, καὶ ἦσαν τινες τεταγμένοι ταμίαι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τούτων. ποτὲ οὖν πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀνερχθέντων ἐκείσε ἔδοξε τοῖς ταμίαις, ὥστε λάθρα τῆς πόλεως δανείσαι ταῦτα τοῖς τραπέζιταις, ἵνα αὐτοὶ κερδάνωσιν ἐκ τούτου· ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν, ἔτυχεν ὕστερον ἀνατραπήναι τὰς τραπέζας. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν Ὀπισθόδομον, ἵνα δόξῃ τὰ χρήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναλωθῆναι καὶ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν. α.

³ It is possible to read in line 1 [ἔπ]ι [Καλλιο(υ)] ἀρχο[ντος, and so date the inscription in 406-405. Indeed, Dr. Dörpfeld does this, and suggested the emendation to me, among other things, when he did me the honor to read this paper. I have endeavored, however, to offer an explanation on the basis of the received date.

⁴ C.I.A. II, 829, 3. τ[οῦ]τε ν[ε]ώ τ[ᾶ] κεκα[υμένα. 10. . . ν[α]ίους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τοί[χων . . .]ς κατὰ τὸ Πανδρόσειο[ν].

the view that the 'old temple' here is the Hecatompedon, for if the building had not sustained serious damage, there is no reason why part of it could not be used as a treasury in the meantime, until complete repairs were made. Hence the inscription of 398-397,¹ which proves the use of the Opisthodomus as a treasury in that year, will not, as Frazer maintains it will,² be strong evidence that the temple set on fire in 406 could not have been the building containing the Opisthodomus; and he admits himself³ that "if Dr. Dörpfeld could indeed prove that the fire in 'the ancient temple of Athena' in 406 B.C. was identical with the fire in the *opisthodomus*, he would at least have made it certain that 'the ancient temple of Athena' was not the Erechtheum, since the Erechtheum had no *opisthodomus*." While absolute proof for either side seems here not to be had, the weight of probability appears to favor the view of Dr. Dörpfeld.

The second passage is the much discussed extract from Strabo. So much had been written on Athens and the Acropolis, and they were so well known, that he passes them by with these few words. To him the principal fact about the Acropolis was that it was a sanctuary (*ἱερόν*) of Athena, and so he mentions the two chief cult-places of that goddess, the old temple of the Polias, in which was the wonderful lamp described more fully by Pausanias,⁴ and the Parthenon with its chryselephantine image. The old temple must be either the Hecatompedon or the Erechtheum, and whichever one of these housed the *ξόανον* of the Polias. Tradition (that is, tradition of modern scholarship) aside, there is but one difficulty in applying this to the Hecatompedon,—the uncertainty whether it was still standing in the first century before Christ,—and that is the chief question in point. If we are surprised that the periegete passed by the beautiful Erechtheum without notice,

¹ *C.I.A.* II, 652, B, 23. *τάδε ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῆς Βραυρων[όθου]*.

² *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIII (1892-93), 172 f.

³ *Ibid.* 171.

⁴ I, 26, 7, = No. 15, p. 370.

while he mentions its plain old neighbor, it is sufficient explanation to suppose that it did not contain the *ξόανον* and its cult. We can, of course, turn this argument about, but the epithet *ἀρχαῖος* is more easily applicable to the Hecatompedon, and other considerations favor this view, as will be seen when we come to the passages concerning the temple of the Polias, where this testimony of Strabo will be brought in again.¹

In the third and fourth extracts we find *stelae* with public inscriptions, and in the fifth an equestrian statue in honor of one of the Ptolemies, probably Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, Philometor (117–81 B.C.), set up beside the old temple. As we shall see later, such public documents and statues were erected beside the temple of Athena Polias, and the conviction that these buildings were one and the same will be most natural, and will support the restoration *τ[ῆς Πολιάδος]* in the Ptolemy inscription. Clearly, however, there is nothing decisive in these notices themselves.

Whether identical with the Opisthodomus or not, the old temple was a treasury in the fifth and fourth centuries, and probably in the third century B.C., as a number of inscriptions show, though the reference to the old temple in several is doubtful, owing to the use of *ἀρχαῖον* as 'principal' and the mutilated condition of the text. The seventh is dated near the beginning of the fourth century, and indeed between the fire in the old temple and the repairs of 394, certainly later than 407 B.C.

The eleventh deserves special attention, and belongs at the end of the fourth century. I cannot state the case better than has been done by Miss Harrison, whose words I take the liberty of using.² "In the inventory of the old temple (*ἀρχαῖος ναός*) a quantity of objects are enumerated as to be found on the parastades, and the left and right hand parastas are distinguished; the objects were presumably suspended on nails

¹ No. 1, p. 357.

² *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, 506.

driven into the jambs. It is noticeable that the parastades only, not the walls, are used for the purpose; the reason is clearly that the walls were of stone, the parastades of wood. All ancient Doric buildings had door-jambs of wood, even as late as the Parthenon and Propylaea. These door-jambs were called respectively the right and left parastas. Now the east cella of the Erechtheion, if that be supposed to be the 'ancient temple,' being Ionic, had stone, not wooden jambs, so the parastades in question must belong to our 'old Athene temple.'"

Certain expressions here seem to point also to the opisthodomus¹ of the Hecatompedon with its two inner chambers; as *ᾧπισθεν τῆς θύ[ρας . . . τῆς?]* | *δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντι* in line 16, *παραστά[δ]ι τῇ ἀριστ[ερᾶς(ε) εἰσιόντι]* in 20, and *πρὸς[τῇ παραστά]δι τῇ[δ]εξιᾶ[ς] εἰσιόντι* in 22, provided the restorations are correct, while their application to the Erechtheum is difficult.

The passage numbered twelve speaks of sacrifices to be made at the Panathenaea, one 'in the old temple as aforetime.' The last tells us that at some time in the first half of the fifth century the treasure of the Eleusinian goddesses was to be kept in a *περίβολος* (?) behind the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis.²

So much for the testimony regarding the *Old Temple*. Much of this, as we have seen, gives us no certain data for deciding

¹ Dr. Dörpfeld understands the reference to be to the double doors at the east end of the cella.

² In the old inscription, *C.I.A.* I, 1, we apparently have reference to the money of the Eleusinian goddesses, which here seems to have been brought into the temple of Athena on the Acropolis. In line 24 we have *[τ]οῦ δὲ [ε]ροῦ ἀργυρί[ου τὸ μὲν . . .]*; and in 27 and 28, *ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίᾱ[ς] ἱερὸν* | *τὸ ἐμπόλει*. This inscription dates before 452 B.C., and so can refer to neither the Parthenon nor the Erechtheum. In the text here, as in general, I have followed the transcription as given in the *C.I.A.*, though it often does not exactly reproduce the lettering on the stone. If *περίβολος* has here its usual meaning of an 'enclosure,' it would seem to have been a most unsafe place of deposit. In fact, the word is by no means satisfactory. Dr. Dörpfeld's *θόλον* (see note 1, p. 351) seems hardly more so as applied to the square rear chambers of the Hecatompedon.

to which of the two temples in question we are to apply the epithet of 'the old temple of Athena.' It is rather hard to believe that this term could once have designated the Hecatompodon and later the Erechtheum. So, if the former was ever called 'the old temple of Athena,' it is probable that it retained the name as long as it existed. And indeed the title would be an exceedingly appropriate one for the old *poros* temple when flanked by the elegant new Erechtheum on the north and the stately Parthenon on the south. The assumption that the Erechtheum retained the name from a predecessor on the same site must be admitted simply as a possibility, but is far from probable. Since, therefore, nothing that we know of the 'old temple' hinders us from giving this title to the Hecatompodon, while the title itself, as well as some of the facts, does not fit easily the Erechtheum, and since we have no evidence of the removal of the former building, though it hid from view the Maiden Porch and was uncomfortably near to the Erechtheum, we may safely accept Dörpfeld's theory here as the more reasonable, and believe that the Hecatompodon was the *ἀρχαῖος νεώς* seen by Strabo. Whether this was in existence in the time of Pausanias or later is another question, which will properly demand discussion after we have finished the treatment of the evidence regarding the temple and cult of Athena Polias. For there are scholars of repute, who, while ready to admit that the Hecatompodon was an old temple and a temple of Athena, are not as ready to assign to it the cult of the Polias; and we must allow the possibility of there being two temples, one called 'the old temple of Athena,' the other 'the temple of the Polias,' until we can find satisfactory reasons for assigning both names to the same building.¹

The testimony concerning Athena Polias, her temple, and her worship, is much more abundant, even if we confine our-

¹ The inscription, *C.I.A.* II, 464, 5 and 6, cited above (No. 5, p. 350) has by conjecture *παρὰ τὸν νεὼ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος*. See also the Strabo passage.

selves to those passages where the name Πολιάς occurs, and do not follow out the many connected subjects. For convenience I have arranged the passages under the following heads:

- I. The temenus; situation and parts of the temple.
- II. Contents of the temple.
- III. Personnel of the temple; the cult; associations with other divinities.
- IV. *Anathemata* outside of the temple; other notices.

I. The temenus; situation and parts of the temple.

1. Strabo, IX, 16, p. 396. τὸ δ' ἄστυ αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ περιουκονμένη κύκλῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ὃ τε ἀρχαῖος νεὺς τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος, καὶ ὁ Παρθενῶν ὃν ἐποίησεν Ἰκτίνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ Φειδίου ἔργον ἐλεφάντινον ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ.¹

2. Schol. Aristoph. *Knights*, 1169. δύο εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως Ἀθηνᾶς ναοί, ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ ἡ χρυσελεφαντίνη, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν σκύλων κατεσκεύασαν, Φειδίου πλάσαντος.

3. Apollodorus, III, 14, 6, 6. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τραφεῖς Ἑριχθόνιος ὑπ' αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ... τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει ξόανον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύσατο.

4. Apollodorus, III, 14, 7. Ἑριχθονίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ταφέντος ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς...

5. Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* III, 45, p. 13 Sylb. τί δὲ Ἑριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκήδεται;

6. *C.I.A.* IV, 1, 279 a (p. 36), 2. [Ἀθηναίᾱς Πολιάδος]? τεμένη.

7. Vitruvius, IV, 8, 4. Item generibus aliis constituuntur aedes ex isdem symmetriis ordinatae et alio genere dispositiones habentes, uti est Castoris in Circo Flaminio, et inter duos lucos Veiovis, item argutius Nemori Dianae columnis adiectis dextra ac sinistra ad umeros pronai. hoc autem genere primo factae sunt uti est Castoris in Circo, Athenis in arce et in Attica Sunio Palladis Minervae, earum non aliae sed eadem sunt proportiones, cellae enim longitudinibus duplices sunt ad latitudines uti reliquae, sed is omnia quae solent esse in frontibus ad latera sunt translata.

8. Lucian, *Fisherman*, 21, p. 591. ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑ. Ἄγε δὴ, πάρεσμεν γὰρ ἔνθα ἔχρηγν. ἐνταῦθά που ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τῆς Πολιάδος δικάσωμεν. ἡ ἱέρεια διάθες ἡμῖν τὰ βάθρα, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοσοῦτῳ προσκυνήσωμεν τῇ θεῷ. ΛΟΥΚ. ᾧ Πολιάς, κτλ.

9. Himerius Sophista, *Ecl.* V, 30. οἶος δ' ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος νεὺς καὶ τὸ πηλοῖον τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τέμενος. συνήψαμεν γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἀνακτόρων τοὺς θεοὺς ἀλλήλοις μετὰ τὴν ἄμυλλαν.

10. Plut. *Quaest. Conviv.* IX, 6, p. 741 a. ἐνταῦθα γοῖν καὶ νεῷ κοινωνεῖ μετὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν ᾧ καὶ βωμός ἐστι Δήθης ἰδρυμένος.

¹ = No. 2, under ἀρχαῖος νεὺς, p. 349. Discussed on pp. 353 f.

11. Philochorus, *fr.* 146 (Müller, *F.H.G.* I, p. 408, = Dion. Hal. *de Din.* 3). ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐννάτῃ φησί, "τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ τουδὶ διελθόντος, ἐτέρου δ' εἰσιόντος (Ol. 118, 3 = 306 B.C.) ἐν ἀκροπόλει σημεῖον ἐγένετο τοιοῦτο. κῶν εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεὼν εἰσελθούσα, καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβάσα τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς, τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ, κατέκειτο. πάτριον δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κύνα μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν."¹

12. Paus. I, 27, 2. τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχῆς ἐστὶ.

13. Paus. I, 27, 3. παρθένου δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους, κτλ.

14. Eustath. *Hom. Il.* X, 451, p. 1279, 40. διὸ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς Ἀθήνησιν Αἰδοῦσαι καὶ Ἀφελείας ἦν βωμὸς περὶ τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼν, καθὰ καὶ Πανσανίας ἰστορεῖ,² ἃς οἱ μὲν παιδαγωγούς, οἱ δὲ τροφούς τῆς θεᾶς γενέσθαι φασίν.

15. *C.I.A.* II, 332, 42 ff. καὶ ἀναγράψα[ι αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν συμμαχίαν) τὸν γρ]|αμματεῖα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεῖαν ἐν στήλῃ χαλκ[ῇ καὶ στήσαι ἐ]|ν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πο[λιάδος]...

16. *C.I.A.* II, 464, 4 ff. [στήσαι | δὲ] αὐτοῦ καὶ [εἰ]κόν[α] χαλκῇν ἐ[φ'] ἔππου τὸν δῆμον παρὰ τὸν | νεῶ? τ]ὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τ[ῆς Πο]λιάδος.³

17. *C.I.A.* IV, 2, 477 d (see *Athen. Mitth.* VIII [1883], 57 ff.), 2. κ[αὶ] ἀπαράβ[ω]σιν τὸν ἐφέτειον π[έπλον]... 11 ff. Μελετεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδ[ὴ] πρόσσων ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ πατέρες τῶν παρθένων | τῶν ἡργασμένων τ[ῇ] Ἀθ[η]ν[ῶ]ν [τὰ] ἔρια τὰ εἰς τὸν πέπλον ἐμφανίζουσιν παρηκολουθηκέναι αὐτ[ῇ]|[ἀ]ς τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐψη[φισμένοις] περὶ τούτων πᾶσι καὶ πεποιηκέναι τὰ δίκαια καὶ πεπ[|]ομ[ε]νεύκηναι κατὰ τὰ προστ[εταγμένα] ὥς ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ εὐσχημονέστατα, κατεσκευακέν[αι] δὲ αὐτ[ῇ]ς ἐ[κ] τῶν ἰδίων καὶ φι[άλην] ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν, ἣν καὶ βούλεσθαι ἀναθεῖναι τ[ῇ]|[ῇ] Ἀθηνᾶ [ὑ]πόμνημα τῆς ἐαυτῶν [πρὸς τὴν θεὸν εὐσεβείας]... 19 ff. [δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπικεχωρησθαι μὲν ἀναθεῖναι τὴν φιάλ[ην], ἣν κατεσκευάκασιν αἱ παρθ[έ]νοι τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ, ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ τὰς παρθένους καὶ στεφανῶσαι] | ἐκάστην αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ εὐσε[β]ε[ί]ας ἔνεκεν... 23 ff. [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν γραμματεῖα τ]ὸν κατὰ πρυτανεῖαν εἰς (σ)τήλην λιθ[ίνην] τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρθένων καὶ ἀναθ[έ]ναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος...⁴ There follows (27 ff.) a list of the ἐργαστῖναι.

18. *C.I.A.* IV, 2, 231 b, 26 ff. .. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα[α ἐν στήλαις λ]|ιθ[ίνα]ς καὶ στήσαι τὴν μὲν μίαν παρὰ [τὸν Δία, τὴν δὲ] | ἐτέραν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν νεὼ τῆς Πολιάδος...

19. Schol. V, Aristoph. *Plut.* 1193. τὸν ὀπισθόδομον αἰεὶ φυλάττων· Ὅπισον τοῦ νεῶ τῆς καλουμένης Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς διπλοῦς τοῖχος (οἶκος?) ἔχων θύραν, ὅπου ἦν θησαυροφυλάκιον.⁵

¹ Cf. *Plut. Comp. Demet. et Anton.* 4, 2.

² Probably in the lacuna, I, 24, 3; see pp. 366 ff.

³ No. 5, under ἀρχαῖος νεῶς, p. 350.

⁴ Cited in part again, No. 43, p. 379.

⁵ See p. 346, and note 3.

Strabo, in the place already cited, mentions two temples of Athena on the Acropolis, the Parthenon, and another which he describes as *ἀρχαῖος*, as devoted to the Polias (which I take to mean that it contained the *ξόανον*), and as having in it the ever burning lamp. The epithet *ἀρχαῖος*, which has been discussed above, seems to refer to the age of the building rather than to imply a *νέος νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος*, the title being a compound of *ἀρχαῖος νεός* and *νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος*. The only way to make this refer to the Erechtheum is to adopt the two theories that there was formerly a temple of Athena Polias where this now stands, which, when the Parthenon was begun, received the name *ἀρχαῖος νεός*, and that the new temple inherited the title of its predecessor, which title could have been hardly fifty years old when the Erechtheum was begun.

The scholiast to Aristophanes clearly states that there were two temples of Athena on the Acropolis, the one the temple of the Polias, the other evidently the Parthenon, though the writer had the image here in mind, and his statement is confused.

Apollodorus, in the third and fourth passages, tells us that Erichthonius was brought up by Athena herself in her temenos, that he dedicated the *ξόανον*, and that on his death he was buried in the temenos. Clement of Alexandria says that he was buried in the temple (*νεώς*), but he is a doubtful authority in comparison with the other source. The inscription (No. 6) is cited merely for completeness.

The passage from Vitruvius is a troublesome one both for our subject and for its own interpretation. He is describing irregular temples, and to illustrate gives examples familiar to all his Roman readers, one of which is the temple of Castor in the Circus Flaminius. With this temple he classes temples of Pallas Minerva on the Acropolis at Athens and at Sunium. The Roman temple we have no longer; the plans of the others we know. Vitruvius states that in these the cella is twice as long as it is wide, but that all things which are wont to be on the fronts are transferred to the sides. The only temple on

the Acropolis that will at all fit the description is the Erechtheum, which has on the sides the north and Maiden porches, and whose east cella is somewhat wider than it is long. The east front also, with its portico of six slender columns, resembles the front of a familiar class of Roman temples, but it is not exactly correct to say that "*all* that is usually on the fronts is transferred to the sides." It is not improbable that Vitruvius gained his information about these Greek temples from hearsay, and hence does not speak accurately. Certainly it is difficult to see any general likeness between the Erechtheum and the Sunium temple, which had the same general plan as the 'The-seum.'¹ The phrase "*columnis adiectis dextra ac sinistra ad umeros pronai*," seems to me to belong only with the <templum> *Nemori Dianae*, but if it be taken of all the temples mentioned in this section, we can see a certain likeness between the north porch of the Erechtheum and the pronaus of the Sunium temple, where the third columns from the east end were bound to the antae by a beam which bore part of the frieze, and so might be said to be "added to the shoulders of the pronaus," while in both cases we have porticoes with columns in front and one on either side. The testimony of Vitruvius here is not clear, nor is it very reliable. We may say, however, that he knew the Erechtheum as a temple of Athena. The advocates of the traditional view may be inclined, perhaps, to claim that Pallas Minerva here means Athena Πολιάς, but it cannot be taken so in regard to the temple at Sunium, for in our only other notice of this temple, that of Pausanias,² it is ascribed to Athena Σουνιάς. This epithet, of course, may have the same relation to Cape Sunium as Πολιάς to the πόλις (ἀκρόπολις) at Athens, but Vitruvius cannot be regarded as intending Πολιάς by Pallas. Unfortunately we have no other occurrence of the word in his

¹ Dr. Dörpfeld believes the reference is to some other temple at Sunium than the one whose remains are well known. He also thinks that the phrase *Palladis Minervae* need not belong to the <templum> *Athenis in arce*. For plans of the temple at Sunium, and Dr. Dörpfeld's excavations there, see *Athen. Mitth.* IX (1884), 324-337; Tafeln xv, xvi.

² I, 1, 1. ἐστὶ καὶ ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Σουνιάδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τῆς ἁκρας.

text by which to test his use of the term, but probably he means only the Greek Minerva, Athena, or Pallas Athene.

Strabo and the scholiast mention but one other temple of Athena on the Acropolis beside the Parthenon. If, then, the Erechtheum was a temple of Athena, are we to take their statements as exclusive, and say that there being *an* other temple of Athena than the Parthenon, it must be *the* other, and hence the ἀρχαῖος νεώς, the νεώς τῆς Πολιάδος? If so, we must regard the little temple of Nike as not properly on the Acropolis. But there is no necessity for our doing this any more than in the scholium to Demosthenes, XXII, 13, we are to understand the statement “τρία γὰρ ἀγάλματα ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν διαφόροις τόποις” to mean that these three, the Polias ξόανον, the Promachus, and the Parthenus, were the only ones of the goddess there, for, to mention no others, we have the beautiful Lemnian Athena of Pheidias, so much admired by Lucian¹ and by its creator himself, of which Furtwängler believes we have a copy in the statue at Dresden.

The Erechtheum was intended certainly to furnish for the revered olive-wood Polias a more elegant abode than her old temple, and perhaps acquired the name ‘temple of Athena’ in this way, even if the Hecatompedon was not removed, and the image for some reason never transferred to the new building.

We must next treat the reference in the *Fisherman* of Lucian. The court which is to try the case of the philosophers convenes in the pronaus of the Polias temple as a suitable place. Each of the Athena temples has a pronaus large enough for the fifteen to twenty persons concerned to sit down in on the benches placed by the priestess. So the passage furnishes no decisive evidence, only we may feel sure that the trial took place in the porch of the temple where the old image was.² Some have tried to determine which temple is meant

¹ *Imagines*, 4; 6.

² Dr. Dörpfeld, who believes that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias (see below, p. 389), locates the trial in the pronaus of this temple, as the only one large enough to contain the court. See *Athen. Mitth.* XII (1887),

from the later scene where Parrhesiades (Lucian) fishes up philosophers from the Pelargicum,—as, for example, Professor White.¹ Lucian says distinctly that he baited the hook with a dried fig and a piece of gold and let it down into the city, sitting on the top of the wall.² The fisherman and Elenchus, his assistant, alone see the philosopher-fish caught, as Parrhesiades from the wall describes the scene in the Pelargicum below, and, when he lands his catch inside, calls different philosophers to decide what shall be done with the victim. Finally the judge, Philosophia, calls out, “*ἄλλε τῆς ἄγρας*,” and dismisses the assembly,³ which very likely had left the pronaus of the Polias at the commencement of the angling, and had come over to where it was going on. From the pronaus of none of the three temples could the fishing take place or the angler be easily seen sitting on the wall over the Pelargicum if we assign as its limits the cave of Pan and the west side of the precinct of Asclepius, as Dr. Dörpfeld does.

We get a little more definite information from the sophist Himerius, who flourished early in the fourth century of our era. He states that the temenos of Poseidon was near the temple of the Polias, and that the Athenians united the gods through their sanctuaries after the contest, which implies that these sanctuaries were at least contiguous. The first statement will apply better to the Hecatompodon, as the terms *πλησίον* and *τέμενος* are used. Otherwise it is difficult to avoid confining *νεώς* here to the east cella of the Erechtheum, and assuming the western portion, with perhaps some of the land adjoining it to the north, to be designated as the *τέμενος* of Poseidon. The former would not be as objectionable as the latter, which involves a rather unusual use of *τέμενος*. If the author knew the Erechtheum as a double temple of Athena

198 f. Professor White makes a sufficient reply to this in his article on the Opisthodomus, in *Harvard Studies*, VI (1895), 35, note 1.

¹ *Harvard Studies*, VI (1895), 34 f. He remarks that if the pronaus of the Hecatompodon is the place, the Erechtheum would stand right in the way.

² *Fisherman*, 47, pp. 614 f.: *ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρον τοῦ τειχίου*.

³ *Ibid.* 52, p. 619.

Polias and Poseidon-Erechtheus, and meant this, it is surprising that he used the expression he did rather than ὁ συνεχὴς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ναός, or words to that effect. Moreover, he seems to have two distinct objects in mind. If, on the other hand, we understand by the 'temple of the Polias' the Hecatompedon, we have no difficulty with this passage, for near it, on the north, is the temenos of Poseidon-Erechtheus, the ground on which the present Erechtheum stands, sealed as the property of the god by the mark of his trident. The second statement reminds us of the passage in the *Iliad*, where Athena receives Erechtheus, later identified with Poseidon himself, into her own rich temple, and makes him a sharer of her sacrifices. But the reference need be only to the fact that the two divinities after the 'contest' peacefully occupied adjoining sanctuaries, not necessarily in the same building. We cannot affirm with certainty from these words that in the time of Himerius, Athena, with or without the surname Πολιάς, and Poseidon enjoyed a joint cult.

Plutarch, however, seems to testify positively that such was the case. For in his *Quaestiones Conviviales*, discussing the defeats of Poseidon in his contests with other divinities, he says: "Here, indeed (*i.e.* at Athens), he even shares a temple (νεώ) with Athena, in which temple is set up also an altar of Forgetfulness." This temple can hardly be any other than the Erechtheum, which, therefore, in Plutarch's time, must have been regarded as a temple of Athena. This confirms the testimony of Vitruvius, and the same explanation may be offered here also as to the name, — that, being intended originally as a temple of Athena Polias and Poseidon-Erechtheus, it thus was called at times a temple of Athena, even if the Polias ξόανον was not transferred to it as intended. If an image were necessary, one could be assumed, made for this cult of Athena, as readily as for a cult of Athena in the Hecatompedon, established at its foundation.¹ For if the Hecatompedon was not

¹ One view is that the image and cult of the Polias were confined to the temple on the site of the Erechtheum and then to the Erechtheum, while another cult of

built for the abode of the Polias image, it will be almost a necessity to assume for it another image of Athena; and either assumption is equally easy, as literary tradition is entirely lacking. But as Pausanias mentions no images of the divinities to whom the three altars which he saw¹ were dedicated, it is quite possible that Athena also received some worship there, though unrepresented by a statue. I find no other reference to the altar of Lethe here mentioned, but may add that a cult of the same abstract divinity is attested for Ephesus.²

Next in order is the famous 'dog story' told by Philochorus. If we adopt the usual Erechtheum idea, we must assume a door between the cella at the east end of the building through which the dog must pass to get into the western part, and thence into the Pandroseum, or that the whole building is here called the temple of the Polias, and that the presence of the cult of Poseidon-Erechtheus is ignored, so that the dog went into the north door of the building. If we take Dr. Dörpfeld's view, it will be difficult to dispense with his supposed staircase from the upper level down to that of the Pandroseum. If the Hecatompodon was ever a temple of Athena Polias, such connection with the Pandroseum is most natural. For an example of stairs of this sort one has only to look at the north-east corner of the Erechtheum. Either explanation of the tale seems possible, and no decision is gained.

Pausanias states that a temple of Pandrosus joins that of Athena, but as just before this and just after he speaks of the temple of the Polias, it is safe to assume that he here refers to the same building.⁴ We must distinguish here between the

Athena was instituted in the Hecatompodon by Pisistratus or whoever built it. Note that Plutarch does not use here the epithet *Πολιάς*.

¹ I, 26, 5. See below, p. 391.

² *Coll. of Anc. Greek Inscr. in the British Museum*, pt. 3, § 2, p. 221, no. 600, v. 29.

³ Another possibility would be that the dog used the stairway in the Maiden Porch.

⁴ Probably for variety he uses, in §§ 1 and 3, *τῆς Πολιάδος*; and in 2 and 4, *τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς*. In the latter passage (cited below, p. 377, No. 15), he speaks of a statue of Lysimache, probably the one to whom Plutarch (*de vitioso pudore*, 14,

precinct Pandroseum and the *ναός*, which can have been little more than a tiny shrine. Unfortunately not a vestige of it remains, and its location cannot be determined with certainty. If Dr. Dörpfeld is correct in regard to the Cecropium, which he locates under the southwest corner of the Erechtheum, mostly outside of the building, but extending east under the huge block which supports this corner, and so partly inside,¹ it cannot have been built against the west wall of the Erechtheum for several reasons: (1) The position of the olive tree, as determined by Dörpfeld, would prevent its being near the northwest corner, while the Cecropium occupied the place at the other end of the wall. (2) If placed between, it would have blocked up the door in the west wall of the Erechtheum, unless this led into it. (3) Moreover, there are no traces of any such building north of where the Cecropium is located. It might, however, have stood close to the north retaining wall of the old temple.

Pausanias tells us also that the Arrephori live not far from the temple of the Polias. If at first sight this seems to help us but little, a consideration of the remains of buildings on the Acropolis will show us that the notice is of importance; for the location of their dwelling is pretty well determined. This does lie near the Hecatompedon, northerly from its west end, while it is at a considerably greater distance from the eastern part of the Erechtheum. Therefore in this passage Pausanias must designate by the name 'temple of the Polias' either the entire building to which he has referred just above as the Erechtheum, or the older temple to the south. The latter interpretation avoids confusion, and is therefore preferable. So that at least the passage is better explained, if we assume that the old temple was standing at the time of Pausanias's visit, and that this is the one which he calls the 'temple of the Polias.'

Eustathius in his commentary on the *Iliad* states that near

534 c, = No. 13, p. 377) refers as a priestess of Athena Polias, by whose temple most appropriately her image would be erected.

¹ Not, as Furtwängler incorrectly states, "in the southwest corner of the west room." See his recent article mentioned in Note 3, p. 353, note 1.

(περί) the temple of Athena Polias at Athens was an altar of Aidōs and Apheleia, which altar is referred to again in Bekker's *Anecdota*, s.v. Αἰδῶ,¹ and Hesychius, s.v. Αἰδοῦς Βωμός.² This passage is of no little importance, since he cites Pausanias as his authority. But when we come to search for the place, we do not find it in our text of the periegete. The only reference to such a cult is in I, 17, 1, where he says that the Athenians had altars of Aidōs, Phēmē, and Hormē,³ giving this as an instance of their extraordinary piety. Although in the section where he mentions these altars he is in the agora, there is nothing in his language to compel us to locate them there, and we know from the above sources that the altar of Aidōs at least was on the Acropolis. If, now, we turn to his description of the citadel, we find in chapter XXIV (§ 3) a reiteration of his statement as to the piety of the Athenians (*l.c.*) with a reference to a former passage, which can be no other than I, 17, 1. We notice also just here a lacuna in the text, whose existence is generally recognized. Leaving this for the moment, let us see where Pausanias now is. In chapter XXIII (§ 9) he has reached the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis, whose location is sure. In § 10 he mentions the bronze figure of the Wooden Horse, several blocks of whose pedestal have been found not far from the northwest corner of the Parthenon. Later on in the same section with the lacuna (I, 24, 3) he has reached the image of Earth praying Zeus for rain, whose position is made certain by a hole cut in the rock and an inscription, Γῆς καρποφόρου κατὰ μαντείαν,⁴ just north of the seventh column of the Parthenon, counting from the west end. Clearly, then, he must be not far from where we now find the southwest corner of the old temple, very likely just north of the rock-cut stairs west of the Parthenon (see star on Fig. 2). But

¹ I, 355. . . . καὶ ὁ βωμὸς ὁ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.

² Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Αἰδοῦς καὶ Φιλίας ('Αφελείας?) εἰσι βωμοὶ πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ. It may be added that in the Dionysiac theatre is found the inscription Ἰ[ε]ρ[ε]ῖ[α] Αἰδοῦς, *C.I.A.* III, 367.

³ καὶ γὰρ Αἰδοῦς σφισι βωμὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Φήμης καὶ Ὁρμῆς.

⁴ *C.I.A.* III, 166. See Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, pp. 414 f.

we have yet another indication. He has been describing objects on the south side of the festal road which ran between the Parthenon and the Hecatompedon, and at I, 24, 1 (πέραν) turns to those on the opposite, north side of the way. So he is just where he would be most likely to remark the presence of the old temple, if he should mention it at all. Moreover, just after the lacuna we have reference to some temple, manifestly one named in the passage which is lost. As Pausanias states above, in the same section, that the Athenians were first to give Athena the surname of Ἐργάνη, it was formerly assumed that the ναός was one dedicated to that goddess, and standing on the terrace between the Parthenon and the precinct of the Brauronian Artemis; but this interpretation seems excluded both by the fact that we have no evidence, architectural, literary, or inscriptional, of any such building, and by the consideration that Pausanias is here describing what he sees on the *north* side of the festal way. In view of all these things, what will be a more probable conclusion, if not almost a certainty, than that at this point the sight of this very altar of Aidōs and Apeleia recalled to him his former remark, and that after giving further proofs of the piety of the Athenians in their cult of Athena Ergane, and their invention of limbless Herms, he continued in words somewhat as follows: καὶ δὴ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι βωμὸς Αἰδοῦς καὶ Ἀφελείας παρὰ τῇ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς ναῷ;¹ Then we may interpret the words after the lacuna, ὁμοῦ δέ σφισιν ἐν τῇ ναῷ Σπουδαίων δαίμων ἐστίν, thus: the σφισίν refers to Aidōs and Apeleia, which abstract divinities with this Σπουδαίων δαίμων were represented by statues, or in some way, in the old temple of Athena Polias.² Dr. Dörpfeld has suggested to me that the statues may have stood in the open porch of the opisthodomus, and here they would have been in the range of vision of a person standing about where Pausanias probably was. The altar may have stood just

¹ Instead of using the exact expression of Eustathius, I have given here what Pausanias would have written.

² Dr. Dörpfeld believes this to be the ναός here meant.

west of the old temple on the stylobate of the colonnade which was removed when the Erechtheum was built. It is possible also that there was in this porch an image of Athena Ergane, and before it one or more of the limbless Herms.¹

If, as seems probable, Pausanias locates the temple of Athena Polias by mentioning it here, the mere name in I, 27, 1 would

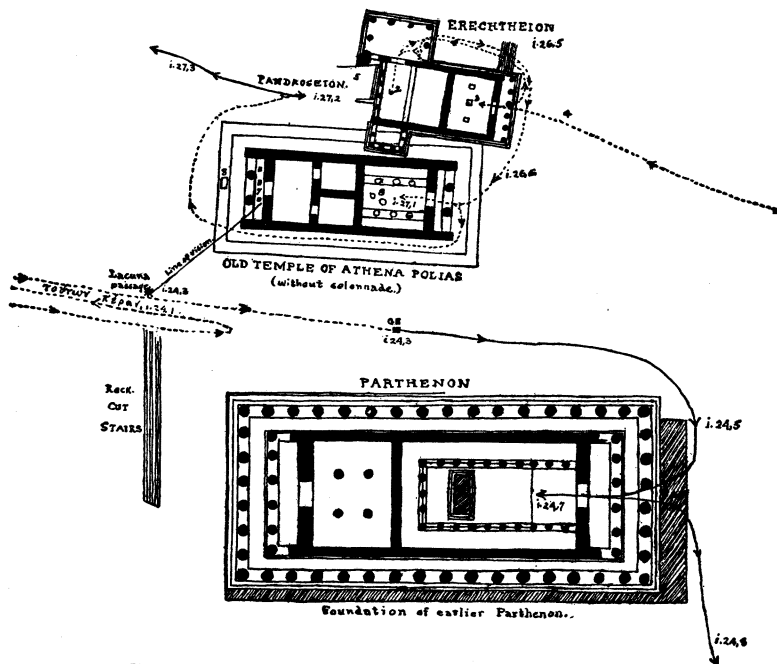


FIGURE 2.—THE FOUR TEMPLES ON THE ACROPOLIS.

To illustrate the route of Pausanias (I, 24, 1-27, 3). Adapted from Furtwängler.

1. Trident marks. 2. Cistern of sea water. 3. Three altars. 4. Altar of Zeus Ἰππάρκος. 5. Olive. 6. ξβανόν of Polias and Lamp of Callimachus. 7. Statues of Αἰδώς, Ἀφείεια, and Σπουδαίων δαίμων. 8. Altar of Αἰδώς.

be sufficient to indicate to the reader that he had now left the Erechtheum and entered the other building.²

Beside the temple of Athena Polias public decrees, treaties,

¹ Near where Pausanias must have been at this moment has been found a Herm, bearing the inscription given in *C.I.A.* III, 3907, cited on p. 387, No. 8.

² We must remember, also, that the reader of Pausanias in his own day would not be laboring under any uncertainty whether the old poros Hecatompedon were standing or not.

and honorary statues¹ were erected, as four inscriptions testify (Nos. 15–18). The second dates probably about 100 B.C., and mentions the *old* temple of Athena Polias,² while the others have simply ‘the temple.’

The last passage has been treated above (p. 346).

II. Contents of the temple.

a. *The image.*

1. Schol. Demos. XXII, 13. οἱ τὰ Προπύλαια καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα] προπύλαια λέγονται οἱ μέγιστοι πυλώνες τῶν ἱερῶν, Παρθενῶν ναὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Παρθένου Ἀθηνᾶς, περιέχων τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ Φειδίας ὁ ἀνδριαντοπλάστης ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος. γ’ γὰρ ἀγάλματα ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν διαφόροις τόποις. ἔν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενόμενον ἐξ ἐλαίας, ὅπερ ἐκαλεῖτο Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, διὰ τὸ αὐτῆς εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, β’ δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ μόνου, ὅπερ ἐποίησαν νικήσαντες οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τοῦτο Προμάχου Ἀθηνᾶς. γ’ ἐποίησαντο ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ὡς πλουσιώτεροι γενόμενοι, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι νίκης, ὅσῳ καὶ μείζων ἢ νίκη. καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τοῦτο Παρθένου Ἀθηνᾶς.

2. Plutarch, *de daedal. Plat. fr.* 10 (Dübner, III, p. 20, *ap. Euseb. Praep. Evang.* III. 8). ‘Ἡ δὲ τῶν ξοάνων ποίησις ἀρχαῖον ἔοικεν εἶναί τι καὶ παλαιόν, εἶγε ξύλινον μὲν ἦν τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Δῆλον ὑπὸ Ἐρυσίχθονος Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ τῶν θεωριῶν ἄγαλμα, ξύλινον δὲ τὸ τῆς Πολιάδος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἰδρυθέν, ὃ μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι διαφυλάττονσιν ...

3. Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* III. 14. τὰ δὲ γε ἀρχαιότατα (ἀγάλματα) τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσι τό τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος ...

4. Athenagoras, *pro Christ.* 17. .. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, μᾶλλον γε Ἀθηλᾶς³ (Ἀθηλᾶ γὰρ ὡς οἱ μυστικώτερον, οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας τὸ παλαιόν), καὶ τὴν καθημένην Ἐνδυὸς εἰργάσατο μαθητῆς Δαιδάλου.

5. Tertullian, *Apol.* 16 (*ad Nat.* I, 12). et tamen quanto distinguitur a crucis stipite Pallas Attica, et Ceres Raria, quae sine effigie rudi palo et informi ligno (solo staticulo ligni informis, *ad Nat. l.c.*) prostat?

6. Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* X, 9, 22. πρῶτος δὲ Κέκροψ λέγεται Ζῆνα κεκληκέναι τὸν θεόν, μὴ πρότερον οὕτω παρ’ ἀνθρώποις ὠνομασμένον· ἔπειτα βωμὸν παρ’ Ἀθηναίους ἰδρῶσαι πρῶτος, καὶ πάλιν πρῶτος Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα στήσασθαι.

7. Apollodorus, III, 14, 6, 6. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τραφεῖς Ἐριχθόνιος ὑπ’ αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ... τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει ξοάνον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύσατο.⁴

¹ For those of priestesses and Errephori, see below.

² See p. 354 for discussion.

³ Cf. Eustath. *Il.* A, 197, p. 83: Οἶονεῖ ἀθήλη τις οὔσα, ὡς μὴ θηλήσασα. “Ὀδινε μὲν γάρ, φασιν, ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Διός. One old commentator thought the ξοάνον had but one breast.

⁴ Quoted above, No. 3, p. 357.

8. Paus. I, 26, 6. .. τὸ δὲ ἀγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἢ συνήλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δῆμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει. φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπέξειμι, εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει.

9. Aristoph. *Birds*, 826 ff. XO. λιπαρὸν τὸ χρῆμα τῆς πόλεως. τίς δαὶ θεὸς πολιοῦχος ἔσται; τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον; EY. τί δ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν ἐῷμεν πολιάδα;

10. Schol. Ar. *Birds*, 827. τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ Πολιάδι οὕση πέπλος ἐγίνετο παμποίκιλος ὃν ἀνέφερον ἐν τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων.

11. Zenob. I, 56 (= Diog. I, 26; Apostol. I, 99; Arsen. II, 56; cf. Athen. II, 30, 48 B). Ἀκεσέως καὶ Ἑλικῶνος ἔργα· ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμάτων ἀξίων. οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτοι τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς πέπλον ἐδημιούργησαν.

12. Eustath. *Od.* λ 634, p. 1704, 37 ff. Γοργόνος δὲ παράγωγον κτητικῷ τύπῳ καὶ τὸ γοργόνειον, εἰδωλὸν τι αὐτὸ Γοργόνος ἀνακείμενον Ἀθηνᾷ Πολιάδι, οὗ χρήσις ἐν τῷ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ γοργόνειον ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὑφελόμενος.

13. Plut. *Themist.* 10, 4. καταβαινόντων γὰρ εἰς Πειραιᾶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ Γοργόνειον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγάλματος· τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ διερευνώμενον ἅπαντα χρημάτων ἀνευρίσκειν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ὧν εἰς μέσον κομισθέντων εὐπορησαι τοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐφοδίων.

β. *The lamp.*

14. Strabo, IX, 16, p. 396. ... ὃ τε ἀρχαῖος νεὼς τῆς Πολιάδος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος¹ ...

15. Paus. I, 26, 6 and 7. λύχνον δὲ τῇ θεῷ χρυσοῦν Καλλίμαχος ἐποίησεν. ἐμπλήσαντες δὲ ἐλαίου τὸν λύχνον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους ἀναμένουσιν ἡμέραν· ἐλαίον δὲ ἐκεῖνον τὸν μεταξὺ ἐπαρκεῖ χρόνον τῷ λύχνῳ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ φαίνονται. καὶ οἱ λίνου Καρπασίου θρυαλλὶς ἔνεστιν, ὃ δὴ πυρὶ λίνων μόνον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλώσιμον. φοῖνιξ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λύχνου χαλκοῦς ἀνήκων ἐς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνασπᾷ τὴν ἀτμίδα.

16. Plut. *Numa*, 9, 5 and 6. ἐπεὶ τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅπου πῦρ ἄσβεστον ἔστιν, ὡς Πυθοὶ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ παρθένοι, γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμένα γάμων ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἐκλίπη, καθάπερ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀριστίωνος λέγεται τυραννίδος ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν ἱερὸν λύχνον, ... οὗ φασι δεῖν ἀπὸ ἐτέρου πυρὸς ἐναύεσθαι, καὶνὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ νέον, ἀνάπτοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον.

17. Plut. *Sulla*, 13, 3. (Ἀριστίων) αὐτὸς ἐνδελεχῶς πότους μεθημερινοῖς καὶ κώμοις χρώμενος καὶ πυρριχίζων καὶ γελωτοποιῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν μὲν ἱερὸν τῆς θεοῦ λύχνον ἀπεσβεσθῆναι διὰ σπάνιν ἐλαίου περιεῖδε.

18. Schol. V, Hom. *Od.* τ 34. .. καὶ οἰκείως διὰ τὸν ἄσβεστον Ἀθήνησι λύχνον.

γ. *Image of Hermes, and various anaθήματα*

19. Paus. I, 27, 1. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλον, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον. ἀναθήματα

¹ Quoted in full above, pp. 349 and 357.

δὲ ὅποσα ἄξια λόγου, τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων δίφρος ὀκλαδίας ἐστὶ Δαιδάλου ποίημα, λάφυρα δὲ ἀπὸ Μήδων Μασιστίον θώραξ, ὃς εἶχεν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἵππου, καὶ ἀκινάκης Μαρδονίου λεγόμενος εἶναι.

20. Lucian, *Fisherman*, 47, p. 614. καὶ μάλα, ἥνπερ ἡ ἱερεία μοι ἐβελήσθη πρὸς ὀλίγον χρήσται τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ ἀγκιστρον, ὅπερ ὁ ἄλιεὺς ἀνέθηκεν ὁ ἐκ Πειραιῶς.

21. *C.I.A.* II, 649, 13. ἔκπωμα ἀργυ[ροῦν] | . . . , τοῦτο Ἀθην[αῖ]ο[ι] ἀ[νέθε] | [σαν Πο]λιάδι. Date, perhaps before 398–97 B.C.

22. *C.I.A.* II, 678, A. II, 11. ὑδρία ἀργυραῖ [Ἀθηνᾶς Πο]λι[α]δά[δ]ος. 376–66 B.C.

23. *C.I.A.* II, 699, col. II, 36. [αὔ]ται [καί]ναί Ἀθηνᾶς Πο[λι]α[δ]ος. (? 353 B.C.)

24. *C.I.A.* II, 724 B, 8 f. [. πίν]αξ ἀργυροῦ[s], ἐ[φ] ᾧ ἐπιγέγρα[πτα]ι ἱερὸς Ἀθηνᾶς Πο[λι]α[δ]ος . . . 12 f. χερνιβείον ἀργυροῦν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Πο[λι]α[δ]ος.

25. *C.I.A.* II, 737 A, col. II. 7–12. ῥυτὸν χρυσοῦν . . . ἀνέ]θηκεν βασιλ[έως] Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνή Ῥω[ξ]άνη Ἀθηνᾶ [Πολιάδι· στα(θμόν) —· πε]ρι[τρα]χήλια [χρυσᾶ . . . ἀν]έθηκεν βασ[ι]λέως Ἀλεξάνδρου γυν[ή] Ῥω[ξ]άνη Ἀθην[ᾶ] Πολιάδι· στα(θμόν).]. Several mentions of Athena without an epithet. 327–311 B.C.

26. *C.I.A.* II, 735, 17 ff. [φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ, ἐφ'] εἰ ἐπιγέγραπ[ται· Ἀθηνᾶ Πολι]α[δ]ι Φρυνίσκοι[s] . . . ἀνέθ]ηκε· ἑτέρα φιά[λη ἀργυρᾶ, ἐφ'] εἰ ἐπιγέγραπται· [ἱερὰ Ἀθηνᾶς Πολι]α[δ]ος, ἀνέθ]ηκε[ε σ]τράτη.¹

27. *C.I.A.* IV, 2, 109 b, 33 ff. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνατιθέουσι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι, | τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας εἰς τὸν νεῶ ἀνατιθέναι τοῖς στεφάνους ἐπιγράφοντας· Σπάρτοκος | καὶ Παιρισάδης Λεύκωνος παῖδες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναί[ε]ων. 347–46 B.C.

28. *C.I.G.* 2155, 12 ff. χειροτονήσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἥδη πρέσβ[εις] . . . ἐκ Μυριναίων ἀπ[άντων, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ [δ]ε[ίξαντες τὰ ἐντε-ταλμένα αὐτοῖς] | θύσουσι [Πολιάδι Ἀθ]ηνᾷ, καὶ καλλιερήσαντ[ες εὐχαριστή-σουσι περὶ τῆς βοηθ[ε]ίας τε καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν φιλ[τάτων κομιδῆς τῆς γεγενημένης τοῖς ἐμ]ι Μυρινῇ [Ἀθηναίοις]. ἀναθέντες δὲ καὶ [τὸν στέφανον τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα, καὶ τ]ὰς ἐπιγραφε[ῖ]ς ὑ[π]αὐτὸ ὑπ[ο]γράψαντες, κτλ. Decree of Myrine in Lemnos, about 166 B.C.

29. *C.I.A.* IV, 2, 477 d, 19 ff. [δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ, ἐπικεχωρησθαι μὲν ἀναθεῖναι τὴν φιάλ]ην ἣν κατεσκευάκασιν αἱ παρθέ[νοι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ] . . .²

δ. Grave of Erichthonius, serpent, olive.³

30. Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* III, 45, p. 13, Sylb. τί δὲ Ἐριχθόνιος; οὐχὶ ἐν τοῦ νεῦ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκήδευται;⁴

¹ See also p. 350, note 6.

² See No. 17, p. 358.

³ The olive is brought in here as belonging to Athena Polias, though not in her temple.

⁴ = No. 5, under § I, p. 357.

31. Apollod. III, 14, 7. Ἐριχθονίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ταφέντος ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.¹

32. Plut. *Demos*. 26. ὦ δέσποινα Πολιάς, τί δὴ τρισὶ τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις χαίρεις θηρίοις, γλαυκὶ καὶ δράκοντι καὶ δήμῳ;

33. Eustathius, *Od.* a 357, p. 1423, 8. οἷ φασιν, ὡς ἐκείθεν, καὶ οἰκουρὸς δράκων, φύλαξ τῆς Πολιάδος, ἦγουν ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῆς Πολιάδος διαιτῶμενος.

34. Schol. Aristoph. *Lysist.* 758. τὸν ἱερὸν δράκοντα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν φύλακα τοῦ ναοῦ.

35. Herod. VIII, 41. Λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὅφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· λέγουσὶ τε ταῦτα καὶ δι' ὧς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστι, αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμωμένη τότε ἦν ἄφαστος. σημερινῆς δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελουμένης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

36. Plut. *Themist.* 10, 1. σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὃς ἀφανὴς ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκ τοῦ σηκοῦ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προτιθεμένας ἀπαρχὰς εὐρίσκοντες ἀφανίστους οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐξήγγελλον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον διδόντος, ὡς ἀπολέλοιπε τὴν πόλιν ἡ θεὸς ὑφηνουμένη πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοῖς.

37. Hesych. οἰκουρὸν ὅφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα δράκοντα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἓνα φασίν, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως. τοῦτον δὲ φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεως φασι, ᾧ καὶ μελιτοῦτταν παρατίθεσθαι.

38. Phot. οἰκουρὸν ὅφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα. καὶ Ἡρόδοτος (μὲν ἓνα φησὶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, *suppl.* Creuzer), Φύλαρχος δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο.

39. Philostr. *Imag.* II, 17. τοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται τὸ θηρίον εὖνουν τε εἶναι τῷ χρυσῷ ... καὶ ὁ δράκων δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν ἀκροπόλει οἰκῶν δοκεῖ μοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἀσπασσάσθαι δῆμον ἐπὶ τῷ χρυσῷ, ὃν ἐκείνοι τέττιγας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐπιουῶντο.²

40. Philoch. *fr.* 146. .. κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεῶν εἰσελθούσα καὶ δῶσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβάσα τοῦ Ἐρκείου Διὸς, τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ, κατέκειτο.³

41. Herod. VIII, 55. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσᾳ ἔνι.

The scholiast on Demosthenes XXII, 13 mentions three images of Athena on the Acropolis in different places. One is that made in the beginning from an olive tree, and called by the name of Athena Polias. Plutarch also states that it was of

¹ = No. 4, under § I, p. 357.

² I have not inserted all passages relating to the serpent, but those which give some statement as to his dwelling place, or contain the name Πολιάς. For a more complete citation, see Jahn, *Paus. Descr. Arcis Athen.* p. 27.

³ More fully quoted above, No. 11, p. 358. For more passages about the olive, see Jahn, *op. cit.* pp. 27 f.

wood, set up by the autochthones, and preserved to his day by the Athenians. Philostratus testifies to its being one of the most ancient statues among the Greeks, and Athenagoras classes it with the famous Artemis of Ephesus, while Tertullian compares it and the Rarian Ceres to a rough stock. The testimony as to its dedicator varies, as is not remarkable considering its hoary antiquity. Two autochthones are named, Cecrops by Eusebius, Erichthonius by the compiler of the handbook which goes under the name of Apollodorus. When Pausanias visited the Acropolis, he seems to have seen this image, which he mentions, as follows, though it is a matter for much regret that he did not state more exactly where it was kept: "Now the image of Athena, which was regarded most holy many years before they came together from the demes, is the one in what is now called the Acropolis, but used to be called the *πόλις*. A report regarding it has it that it fell from heaven," the truth or falsity of which report he declines to discuss. It was for this rude *ξόανον* that the peplus was made, first by Aceseus and Helicon, later under the superintendence of the Errephori by the *ἐργαστῖναι*.¹ The Praxiargidae had charge of the clothing of the image, and removed the peplus at the Plynteria. It would be far beyond the limits of this paper to enter more fully into the interesting subject of the peplus and its makers, but certain additional facts may be stated when we treat briefly in § III of the personnel of the temple.

Another object belonging to this image, and seemingly worn by it, is the Gorgoneum, whose pretended loss, when the Athenians were retiring to Salamis in 480, gave Themistocles opportunity to discover means for the support of the fleet.

Strabo gives as the distinguishing feature of the old temple of Athena Polias the ever burning lamp, which Pausanias goes on to describe immediately after mention of the image in the passage just quoted. Hence we may reasonably regard them

¹ Dr. Dörpfeld believes that later the peplus which was carried as a sail on the Panathenaic ship was made for the Parthenus image, and may have been woven in the west chamber of the Parthenon.

as standing together, and in fact in the old temple of the Polias.¹ This lamp was made for the goddess by Callimachus, had a wick of Carpasian flax, was filled but once a year, and was provided with some device, which Pausanias calls a *φοῖνιξ*, to draw the smoke up through the roof. This *φοῖνιξ* was probably a metal chimney made in the shape of a palm-tree, the stem being hollow and serving as a flue.² The lamp was tended, not by virgins, as the vestals at Rome, but by old women, as at Delphi, evidently the priestesses; if by any chance it was extinguished, as in the tyranny of Aristion, — who lived in wanton luxury himself while he impiously allowed the lamp to be quenched for lack of oil, — it must not be re-lighted from any other fire, but only with pure and undefiled flame procured from the sun in a way which Plutarch describes.

If Pausanias does not exactly locate the image and the lamp, the case is different when he comes to speak of the contents of the Polias temple at the beginning of chapter XXVII. Among *ἀναθήματα* worthy of special mention he cites a wooden Hermes given by Cecrops, which was kept concealed by myrtle boughs; a *δίφρος ὀκλαδίας*, the work of Daedalus; the breastplate of Masistius, and the scimitar of Mardonius. An interesting offering is the fish-line and hook dedicated by the fisherman from Piræus, which Parrhesiades borrows from the priestess in Lucian's dialogue to catch the philosophers, using as bait a dried fig and a piece of gold.

Other objects mentioned specifically in inscriptions as belonging to Athena Polias³ are a silver drinking-cup (21), silver water-pots (22), new water-pots (? 23), a silver platter with the inscription *ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος* (24), a similarly inscribed silver hand-basin (24), a gold drinking-horn (*ρύτόν*) and gold necklaces dedicated by Roxane, wife of Alexander

¹ For further discussion of this question, see below, pp. 392 f.

² Dr. Dörpfeld has the idea that this *φοῖνιξ* was a reservoir for the oil.

³ It is not certain that these were in the shrine; they may have been kept in the Opisthodomus. The numbers in parentheses are those of the passages cited under this section.

the Great (25), and a silver *phiale*, also marked as belonging to the goddess under this surname (26), and dedicated by one Phryniscus.

In 347 B.C. Spartocus and Paerisades, sons of Leucon, a king on the Bosphorus, were crowned by the people of the Athenians; and these crowns, suitably inscribed, were dedicated by the ἀθλοθέται in the temple of Athena Polias.

The people of Myrine in Lemnos, about 166 B.C., sent an embassy to Athens to thank the Athenians for help, with instructions to sacrifice to Athena Polias, and to dedicate to her a crown and an inscribed *anathema*.

A third case, which we may perhaps regard as typical, is the offering of a *phiale* worth one hundred drachmas by the ἐργαστίвай as a memorial of their service to the goddess.

The grave of Erichthonius has been referred to above,¹ Clement of Alexandria stating that it was in the temple; but Apollodorus doubtless is more correct, when he places it in the temenos.

The testimony regarding the sacred serpent is confusing and unsatisfactory. Besides the well-known story told by Herodotus and Plutarch, we have many lesser notices of this 'guardian of the Polias,' as Eustathius, Hesychius, and Photius call it. The scholiast on the *Lysistrata* names it the 'guardian of the temple,' and others² the 'guardian of the Acropolis.' Its dwelling is stated by Herodotus to be ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ, by which he seems to mean the Hecatompedon,³ and by Eustathius in the temple of the Polias, while Hesychius reports a tradition that there were two in the Erechtheum. The authority for this seems to be Phylarchus, according to Photius.

The sacred olive was not in the temple, but in the Pandroseum. Herodotus puts it in the Erechtheum; that is, the old temple of Erechtheus, in which it may have stood in a roofless chamber or enclosure.

¹ On p. 359.

² Herodotus and Hesychius.

³ Plutarch, *Them.* 10, speaks of the σηκός.

III. Personnel of the temple; cult; associations with other divinities.

a. *The priestess.*

1. Plut. *Numa*, 9, 5. ἐπεὶ τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅπου πῦρ ἄσβεστον ἔστιν, ὡς Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ παρθένου, γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμέναι γάμων ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.¹

2. Aeschines, II, 147. . . εἶναι δ' ἐκ φρατρίας τὸ γένος, ἡ τῶν αὐτῶν βωμῶν Ἑτεοβουτάδαις μετέχει, ὅθεν ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος ἔστιν ἱέρεια.

3. Schol. Aesch. II, 147. Ἑτεοβουτάδαις] Ἑτεοβουτάδαι οἱ Βούτου τοῦ ἱερέως ἀπόγονοι, γένος λαμπρὸν παρ' Ἀθηναίους. τὸ δὲ ἔτεον τὸ ἀληθὲς δηλοῖ. B. τῆς Πολιάδος] τῆς πολιούχου, τούτεστι τῆς τὴν πόλιν φυλαττούσης καὶ συνεχούσης. B. εἶχε δὲ τὰ γένη ἰδίου βωμοῦς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐαυτῶν. Πολιάδος δὲ οἶον Πολιούχου καὶ συνεχούσης καὶ σωζούσης τὴν πόλιν. Βούτης ἀπ' Ἑρεχθέως τὸ γένος ἔχει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλεῖται τι Ἀθήνησι γένος Ἑτεοβουτάδαι, οἱ τῷ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ Βούτου. οὗτοι προϊστάνται τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς ἐν Ἀκροπόλει Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος. οὐ πᾶσαι δὲ φατρίαὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μετέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἔοικεν Αἰσχίνης ἀπὸ τοιαύτης ἐαυτὸν δεικνύναι, ἡ οὕτως ἔστιν εὐγενὴς, ὥστε τοῖς Ἑτεοβουτάδαις κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τῆς Πολιάδος . . . f.

4. Westermann, *Biograph. Graeci*, p. 267; VI, Aeschines, 2. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Αἰσχίνης περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ παραπροσβείας φησὶν ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἀτρώμητος φατρίας μὲν ἦν καὶ γένους τῶν Ἑτεοβουτάδων, ὅθεν ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος ἔστιν ἱέρεια.

5. *C.I.A.* II, 1386.

Παλλὰς Ἑρεχθειδᾶν ἀρχαγ[έτι, σὸ]ν κατὰ ναὸν
 ἄδε τοι ἰδρύθη Φιλτέρα² [ἱροπόλ]ος,
 Βουταδέων ἐτύμων ἐξ αἱ[ματος], ἃς γενέτωρ μὲν
 τάγος ἔφν στρατιᾶς πεντάκι Πανσίμαχος,
 τοὶ πρόγονοι δ' ἄνθησαν ἐν Αἰγείδαισι Λυκοῦργος
 χῶ χθονὶ τιμάεις Ἀτθίδι Διογένης,
 ὦν τῷ μέ[ν] ῥήτωρ λόγος ἄνδανεν, οὐ δὲ δι' ἔργα
 ἔδρακεν ἀρχαίαν πατρίδα ἐλευθερίαν.
 [Εὐχ]ε[ιρ καὶ] Εὐβουλίδης Κρωπίδαι ἐπόησαν.

6. *C.I.A.* III, 29, 10. τὴν τῆς Πολιάδ[ος ἱέρειαν? . . *Ibid.* 16. . . γὰρ ἐν Βου[τάδαις?].

7. *Etymol. Mag.* Ἑτεοβουτάδαι (386, 3) . . ἐκ δὲ τούτου (τοῦ γένους) καθίστανται ἱερεῖαι τῆς Πολιάδος.

8. Harpocrat. Ἑτεοβουτάδαι . . ἐκ δὲ τούτων καθίστατο ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, καθά φησι Δράκων περὶ γενῶν.

¹ Quoted more fully on p. 370, No. 16.

² Probably for Φιλοτέρα; see *C.I.A.* II, 1385 (No. 39, below), and possibly *C.I.A.* II, 1379 (No. 34). The name is given as Φιλ(τέρα) in *C.I.A.* II, 1411, 4.

9. Phot. Ἐρεοβουτίδαι . . ἐκ δὲ τούτων καθίστατο ἡ ἱερεία τῆς Πολιάδος.¹ . .

10. [Plut.] *Vit. X. Oratt.* 843 b.² Descendants of Lycurgus. . . Μῆδειος, ὃς τὴν ἱεροσύνην Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως εἶχε, καὶ Φιλίππη, ἥτις ἱεράσατο τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὕστερον.

11. *C.I.A.* III, 872 (Basis found west of Erechtheum). [Ἴ]ουνίαν Λεπέ-
δαν, | Σεϊλανοῦ Τορκου[ά]του θυγατέρα, ἱε[ρ]εῖα | Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδ[ος] |
Ἰουνία Μ[εγίστη, Ζ]ήνωνος Σ[ουνιέ]ως | [θυγάτηρ].

12. Phot. Καλλυντήρια καὶ πλυντήρια · ἐορτῶν ὀνόματα · γίνονται μὲν αὐταὶ Θαργηλιῶνος μηνός, ἐννάτῃ μὲν ἐπὶ δέκα καλλυντήρια · δευτέρα δὲ φθίνοντος τὰ πλυντήρια · τὰ μὲν πλυντήρια φησὶ διὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραυλὸν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυθῆναι ἐσθῆτας · εἴθ' οὕτω πλυθείσας τὴν ὀνομασίαν λαβεῖν ταύτην · τὰ δὲ καλλυντήρια, ὅτι πρώτη δοκεῖ ἡ Ἀγραυλος γενομένη ἱερεία τοὺς θεοὺς κοσμήσαι · διὸ καὶ καλλυντήρια αὐτῇ ἀπέδειξαν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ κοσμεῖν καὶ λαμπρύνειν ἐστίν.

13. Plut. *de vitioso pud.* 14, 534 c. Λυσιμάχῃ δὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ἡ τῆς Πολιάδος ἱερεία, τῶν τὰ ἱερὰ προσαγαγόντων ὀρεωκόμων ἐγχαί κελεύοντων, Ἀλλ' ὁκνῶ, εἶπε, μὴ καὶ τοῦτο πάτριον γένηται.

14. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXIV, 76. Demetrius Lysimachen quae sacerdos Minervae fuit LXIII annis.

15. Paus. I, 27, 4. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστι μὲν εὐήρης πρεσβύτης, ὅσον τε πῆχους μάλιστα, φαιμένη διάκονος εἶναι Λυσιμάχῃ.

16. *C.I.A.* IV, 2, 407 g. 5 ff. (in crown on votive tablet). ἡ βουλὴ | ὁ δῆμος | τὴν ἱερεί[αν] | τῆς Ἀθηνᾶ[ς] τῆς Πολιά[δος] | Πεντετηρί[δα].³

17. *C.I.A.* II, 1392 b (Part III, p. 350). [Ἱ]ερείαν Ἀθ[η]νᾶς Πολιάδος Χρυσίδα | [Νικῆ]του Περγασῆθεν θυγατέρα | [. . . κ]αὶ Νικῆτης καὶ Φιλύλλα | . . . Εὐπυρίδου τὴν ἐαντῶν | [ἀδελφὴν Ἀθ]ηνᾶ Πολιάδι. Under this number also a fragment with ΑΘΗΝ in line 2, and ΑΔΟΞ in line 3, i.e. Ἀθην[ᾶς Πολι]άδος.

18. *C.I.A.* III, 887 (Base of Hymettus marble found near Erechtheum), 3 ff. . . θυγατέρα Ν[α]υσιστράτην ἐ[ρρηφο]ρήσασαν | Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδι καὶ Πανδρόσ[ω ἀνέθ]ικαν ἐ[πὶ] ἱερέας Καλλιστ[οῦς?]. About 30 B.C.

19. *C.I.A.* III, 63, 3 f. ἐπὶ ἱερείας Ἀθηνᾶς | Πολιάδος Μεγίστης τῆς Ἀσκληπιδίου Ἀλαιῶς θυγατρὸς. After 27 B.C.

20. *C.I.A.* III, 174 a (Base). Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδ[ι] | ἐπὶ ἱερείας Ἀλεξά[ν] | -
δρας τῆς Λέοντο[ς] | ἐκ Χολλειδῶν.

21. *C.I.A.* III, 836 (Base between Propylaea and Parthenon). [Ἱ]ερεία Ἀθηνᾶς Πολι[άδος] | [Στρα]τονίκη Νικάνδρου. . .

22. *C.I.A.* III, 916 (Base). Ἡ βουλὴ κα[ὶ] ὁ δῆμος | Τερτίαν Λευκίου | [θ]υγατέρα, ἐρρηφορήσα[σαν] | Ἀθ[η]νᾶ Πολιάδι. | Ἐπὶ ἱερείας Στρατοκλέας. Below in crown, Ἡ βουλὴ | [καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἐρρη]φ[ορ]ή[σ]α[σαν].

¹ See place for full passage, also the same, s.v. Ἐρεοβουτάδαι.

² See also *ibid.* 841 b, 843 e.

³ Mentioned also in *C.I.A.* II, 1379, 9 (No. 34, below), and *C.I.A.* II, 1380, 6 (No. 35).

23. *C.I.A.* III, 921. Ἡ βουλὴ | ὁ δῆμος | κανηφο|ρήσασαν | Ἀσκληπι|ῷ.
— Ἐπὶ ἰ[ερείας] | Ἀμεινοκλείας τῆς Φιλ[.... θυγατρός].

24. *C.I.A.* III, 926. Ἰούλιος Ὀπτᾶ[τος] | τὴν ἐαυτοῦ θυγα[τέρα | Ἰου]-
λίαν Ῥουφίναν Ἰαθυίᾳ | χαριστήριον | [ἐπὶ] ἱερείας Ἰσιδώρας τ[ῆς ...].

25. *C.I.A.* II, 374, 9 ff. ἐπειδὴ δὲ [ῆ] ἱερεῖ[α τῆς Πολιάδος ἐπεμελήθη
καλ]ῶς .. *Ibid.* 20 f. .. [ἐπαινέσαι] | τὴν ἱέρειαν [τῆς] Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς [Πο-
λιάδος ...

26. *C.I.A.* III, 5, 13 ff. .. ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ φαίδυντής τοῖν Θε[οῖν] ἀγγέλ-
λει κ[ατ]ὰ τὰ πάτρια τῇ ἱερείᾳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὡς | [ῆκει τὰ] ἱερά κ[αὶ] ἡ παρα-
πέμπουσα στρατιά.

26 *his.* Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ. 1895, p. 109, no. 23. Ἱέρειαν Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς, κτλ.
Inscription at Eleusis.

27. Harpocrat. Σκίρον· Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας. Σκίρα ἑορτὴ
παρ' Ἀθηναίους, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ὁ μὴν Σκιροφοριῶν. φασὶ δὲ οἱ γράψαντες περὶ
τε μηνῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Λυσισμαχίδης, ὡς τὸ σκίρον
σκιადιὸν ἔστι μέγα, ὑφ' ᾧ φερομένῳ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τινα τόπον καλούμενον
Σκίρον πορεύονται ἢ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερεὺς καὶ
ὁ τοῦ Ἥλιου· κομίζουσι δὲ τοῦτο Ἑτεοβοντάδαί ..

28. Phot. Σκίρον· Σκίρα ἑορτὴ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ὁ μὴν Σκιρο-
φοριῶν· φασὶ δὲ οἱ γράψαντες περὶ τε μηνῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς
τὸ Σκίρον σκιადιὸν ἔστιν· μεθ' οὗ φερομένου ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τινα τόπον
καλούμενον Σκίρον πορεύονται ἢ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος
ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἥλιου· κομίζουσι δὲ τοῦτο Ἑτεοβοντάδαί.¹

29. Schol. Aristoph. *Eccles.* 18. Σκίροις· Σκίρα ἑορτὴ ἔστι τῆς Σκιράδος
Ἀθηνᾶς, Σκιροφοριῶνος ἰβ'. οἱ δὲ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. ἐν ᾗ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ
Ἑρεχθέως φέρει σκιάδειον λευκὸν, ὃ λέγεται σκίρον.²

30. Strabo, IX, 11, p. 394 end. Τινὲς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Πολιάδος
Ἀθηνᾶς χλωροῦ τυροῦ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιχωρίου μὴ ἄπτεσθαι, ξενικὸν δὲ μόνον προσ-
φέρεισθαι ...

31. Eustath. *Od.* ξ 81, p. 1752, 23 ff. καὶ τὴν ἱέρειαν δὲ φασὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
ἔθος ἦν οὐ θύνει ἀμνὴν. ἐνθα ὄρα τὸ ἀμνὴν, ἧς ἀρσενικὸν ὁ ἀμνός. τῇ δ'
αὐτῇ οὐδὲ τυροῦ ἐξῆν γείεσθαι.

β. *Errephori, Ergastinae, Praxiergidae.*

32. Paus. I, 27, 3. παρθένου δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω,
καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἄρρηφόρους.³ αὐταὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διάιταν ἔχουσι
παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς δρῶσιν ἐν νυκτὶ τοιάδε. ἀναθεῖσαι
σφισιν ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἃ ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια δίδωσι φέρειν, οὔτε ἡ διδοῦσα
ὁποῖόν τι δίδωσιν εἰδύια, οὔτε ταῖς φερούσαις ἐπισταμέναις, — ἔστι δὲ περιέβο-
λος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις Ἀφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ

¹ = Suidas, Σκίρον. See also Photius, Σκίρον, Σκίρος, Σκιροφορία; Hesychius,
Σκίρας Ἀθηνᾶ.

² Cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 834.

³ Quoted to this point as No. 13, under § I, p. 358.

κάθοδος ὑπόγαιος αὐτομάτη· ταύτη κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα λείπουνσι, λαβούσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀφιάσιν ἦδη τὸ ἐντέθεν, ἑτέρας δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρθένους ἄγουσιν ἀντ' αὐτῶν.

33. C.I.A. II, 1391 (on a capital). Ἀθηνᾶ[ι Πολιάδι] | ὁ πάππος Ἰππό-
ν[ικος ...] | Ἀθην(οδώραν?) | Θεοδώρου Μαρα[θωνίου θυγατέρα | ἐ]ῤῥηφο-
ρήσα[σαν ἀνέθηκεν].

34. C.I.A. II, 1379 (Base). [Ἀ]θη[νᾶ | Ἀπο]λ[λ]ών[ιος ... Ἀ]φι-
δναῖο[ς | τὴν θ]υγατέρα Ἀ[ν]θεμί[αν] | κ[αί] ὁ θεῖος Οὐλι[άδης | καί] ἡ
μήτηρ Φιλω[τέρα] | ἐ[ῤῥ]η[φο]ρήσασα[ν | ἀ]νέθηκεν. | [Ἐπὶ] ἱερείας Πεντε-
τηρίδος | [Ἱερ]ο[κ]λέους Φλυνέω[ς | Κ]α[ῖ]κοσ[θ]ένης[Δί]ης Ἀπολ(λ)ωνί-
δο[ν | Φυλάσιοι ἐ]π[οί]ησαν.

35. C.I.A. II, 1380. [Ἀ]θη[νᾶ] | .. της Ἀντ... σιεύς τῇ[ν θυγατέρα] |
.. στην ἐρρ[ηφο]ρήσασαν | ἀνέθη[κεν]. | [Ἐπὶ] ἱερ[ε]ία[ς Πεν]τετηρίδος |
[τῆς Ἱεροκλέ]ους [Φλυνέως].

36. C.I.A. II, 1381. [Ἀθ]ηνᾶ | [-σ]ιστράτην | [ὁ πατὴρ Ἰ]πποκλῆς |
[... Συ]παλήττιος | [καὶ ἡ μήτηρ .. ἐρρηφο]ρήσασαν ἀνέθηκαν].

37. C.I.A. II, 1383. [Ἀθ]ηνᾶ καὶ [Πα]νδρόσῳ | .. ος Διονυσικλέους
Τρινεμεύς | τῇ[ν θυγατέρα Φί]λαν ἀνέθηκεν | ἐρρηφορήσασαν. | Ἐπὶ ἱερείας
Θεοδότης Πολυόκτου Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν. | Καῖκοσθένης ἐπόησεν.

38. C.I.A. II, 1384. .. τὴν[ν] θυγατέρα Φα[... ἐρρηφο]ρή[σασαν Ἀθηνᾶ
ἀ]νέθηκε[ν].

39. C.I.A. II, 1385. Ἀθηνᾶ | Ἀγίας Νικάρχου Εὐωνυ[μεὺς τὴν] θυγα-
τέρα | Ξενοστράτην ἐρρηφο[ροῦσαν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Δημ[η]τρία Βούλωνος
Παιανιέω[ς] | θυγάτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Ἀ[ρ]κετος Ἐπικράτης Βούλων |
Ξενοφῶν ἀνέθηκαν. [Ἐπὶ] ἱερείας Φ[ι]λωτέρας ...].

40. C.I.A. II, 1390. Παναρίσταν Μαντίου Μαραθωνί[ου ὁ πατὴρ] | καὶ ἡ
μήτηρ Θεοδότῃ Δωσιθέου ἐ[γ] Μυρινούττης | θυγάτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Κλεομέ-
ν[ης καὶ ...] | [ἐ]ῤῥηφορήσασαν Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιά[δι καὶ Πανδρόσῳ] | ἀνέθηκαν.

41. C.I.A. II, 1392. [Ἀθ]ηνᾶ [Πλειστιά]ς(?) Αἰχμαίου Κη[φισι]εὺς
τὴν θυγατέ[ρα] | Στρατονίκην ἐρρηφορήσασ[αν] | καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Πυθιάς Διο-
δώρου | Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν θυγάτηρ | καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ | [Διό]δωρος καὶ Πλειστιάς
ἀνέθηκαν. | [Ἐπὶ ἱερεία]ς Στρατοκλείας τῆς | [... Φι]λαΐδου θυγατρός.

42. C.I.A. III, 918. Ἡ βουλὴ κ[αί] ὁ δῆμος | Ἀπολλοδώραν Ἀπολλο-
δ[ώρου] | Γαργητίου θυγα[τέρα] | ἐ[ῤῥ]ηφορήσασαν Ἀθηνᾶ Πολ[υ]ιάδι.

43. C.I.A. IV, 2, 477 d, 11 ff. Μελιτεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδ[ὴ] πρόσοδον ποιησά-
μενοι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οἱ πατέρες τῶν παρθένων | τῶν ἡργασμένων τ[ῇ]
Ἀθην[ᾶ] [τὰ ἔρια εἰς τὸν πέπλον, κτλ.¹

44. Plut. Alcib. 34. ἥ γὰρ ἡμέρα κατέπλευσεν (ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης), ἐδράτο τὰ
Πλυντήρια² τῇ θεῷ. δρῶσι δὲ τὰ ὄργια Πραξιεργίδαι Θαργηλιώνος ἔκτῃ

¹ See No. 17, p. 358, for more full citation.

² See Harpocration, s.v. Πλυντήρια; Hesychius, Καλλυντήρια, Πλυντήρια;
Etym. Mag. Ἡγητορία, Καλλυντήρια καὶ Πλυντήρια; Photius, Καλλυντήρια καὶ
Πλυντήρια (No. 12 on p. 377), Πλυντήρια; Pollux, VIII, 141, περισχονίσαι τὰ
ιερά; Suidas, Πλυντήρια.

φθίνοντος ἀπόρρητα, τόν τε κόσμον καθελόντες καὶ τὸ ἔδος κατακαλύψαντες ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀπρακτον Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσιν.

45. Hesych. Πραξιεργίδαι· οἱ τὸ ἔδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀμφιεν-
νύντες.

γ. *The cult.*

46. *C.I.A.* I, 188, 5-7. ἀθλοθέταις παρεδ[ό]θη εἰς Παναθήναια τὰ μεγάλα,
... Ἀθηναίᾳ Πολιάδος [X].

47. *C.I.A.* II, 163 (Decree concerning the yearly celebration of the Panathenaea, passed in the administration of Lycurgus), 21 f. καὶ θύσαντες τῇ [ι] Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Νίκῃ.

48. Schol. Aristoph. *Birds*, 827. τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ πολιάδι οὔσῃ πέπλος ἐγίνετο παμποίκιλος, ὃν ἀνέφερον ἐν τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων.¹

49. Schol. Hom. *Od.* ξ 533. Ἐρεχθεὺς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς ἴσχει θυγατέρα τοῦνομα Ὀρείθυιαν κάλλει διαπρεπεστάτην. κοσμήσας δὲ ταύτην ποτὲ πέμπει κανηφόρον θύουσαν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῇ πολιάδι Ἀθηνᾷ. ταύτης δὲ ὁ Βορέας ἄνεμος ἐρασθεὶς λαθὼν τοὺς βλέποντας καὶ φυλάσσοντας τὴν κόρην ἤρπασεν ... ἥ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀκουσιλάῳ. H. V.

50. Herod. V, 82. οἱ δὲ (Ἀθηναῖοι) ἐπὶ τοῖσιδε δώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπά-
ξουσι (οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι) ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τε τῇ πολιάδι ἱρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεύ.

51. *C.I.A.* II, 57 b (Part I, p. 403). Ἐπὶ Μόλωνος ἀρχοντος. | Συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἑλλείνων καὶ Φλειασίων· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· ... 6. εὔξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μᾶλα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα [α θ]εοῖς καὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς, ἂν συνενείγκῃ [Ἀθη]ναίων τῷ δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς συμμαχί[ας θυ]σίου καὶ πρόσδοτον ποιήσεσθα[ι] τελουμένων [τούτω]ν κα[θότι] ἂν τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ ...²

52. *C.I.G.* 2155, 12 ff. χειροτονῆσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἥδη πρέσβ[εις] ἐκ Μυριναίων ἀπ[άντων] οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ [δ]εῖξαντες τὰ ἐντε-
ταλμένα αὐτοῖς | θύσουσι [Πολιάδι Ἀθ]ηνᾷ, καὶ καλλιερῆσαντ[ες] εὐχαριστή-
σουσι περὶ τῆς βοηθ[ε]ίας τε καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν φιλ[τάτων] κομιδῆς
τῆς γεγεννημένης τοῖς ἐ[μ] Μυρίνῃ [Ἀθηναίοις]. ἀναθέντες δὲ καὶ [τὸν
στέφανον τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα, καὶ τ]ὰς ἐπιγραφ[ὰς] ὑ[π'] αὐτὸ ὑπ[ο]γρά-
ψαντες, κτλ. Decree of Myrine in Lemnos, about 166 B.C.³

53. *C.I.A.* II, 481, 4 ff. ὑπὲρ τῆς θυ[σίας] ἧς ἔ[θυσεν] μετὰ [τῶν ἐφῆ-
βων ἐ]ν ἁκροπ[όλει] τὰ ἐξ[ε]τητ[ή]ρια τ[ῇ] τε Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Π[ολιάδι] καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις | θεοῖς οἷς [πάτριον ἦν ὑπ]ε[ρ] τε τῆς βο[υ]λῆς κα[ὶ] τοῦ] δῆμον,

¹ = No. 10 under § II, p. 370.

² 362-361 B.C. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.* VII, 5, *init.*

³ = No. 28 under § II, p. 371. At a recent meeting of the German Institute at Athens, H. von Prott discussed a similar decree found at Priene, which inscription will soon be published. As it refers to Athena Πολιάς, it should be inserted here.

κτλ. . . *Ibid.* 58 ff. ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ Συλλεῖ[α] κ[αὶ] ἑκα[λλιέρησαν, ὁμ[οίως δὲ κα]ὶ τὰ ἐξιτητήρια ἐν ἀκρο[πόλει τῇ τε] Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Κουρ[οτρό]φῃ καὶ τῇ Πανδρόσ[ῃ κα]ὶ ἑκαλλιέρησαν. 48-42 B.C.

δ. *Associations with other divinities.*

54. *C.I.A.* III, 3853 (Fragment of base east of Parthenon.) [Ἀθην]ᾶς Πολιάδος. | [Φ]λῶρος(?) | [Ἀρισ]τογένης . . . | Ἀθηνᾶς Ν[ίκης].

55. *Soph. Philoct.* 134. Νίκη τ' Ἀθὰνα Πολιάς, ἥ σφ'ζει μ' αἰεί.

56. *C.I.A.* I, 188, 4 and 5. ἱπποὺς σίτους ἐδόθη, Ἀθηναίᾶς Πολ[υ]δ[ος] . . . Νίκης. 409 B.C.

57. *C.I.A.* I, 190, 11. [Ἀθηναίᾶς Νίκης κ]αὶ Πολιά[δος]. Money. 406-405 B.C.

58. *C.I.A.* I, 273, h. 8, and f. 44. [Ἀθηναίᾶς Νίκης καὶ] Πολιάδος. *Ibid.* h. 9 and f. 45. Πολιά[δος καὶ Νί]κ[ης τόκ]ου.¹

59. *C.I.A.* IV, 1, 179 d (p. 162), 17 ff. ἀπὸ τῶν | [χρηματ]ων Ἀθηναίᾶς. | [Πολιάδος] [τ] . . . *Ibid.* 21 f. [Νίκης Ἀ]θηναίᾶς ἀπὸ | [τῶν χρηματ]ων . . .

60. *Dinarchus in Demos.* I, 64. Μαρτύρομαι τὰς σεμνὰς θεάς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸν τόπον ὃν ἐκεῖναι κατέχουσι, καὶ τοὺς ἥρωας τοὺς ἐγχωρίους, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τὴν Πολιάδα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς . . .

61. *Plut. Praecept. ger. reip.* 5, 9, 802 B. ὁ δὲ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῆς Βουλαίας Θέμιδος, “Ἡ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἡμὲν λυεῖ ἡ δὲ καθίζει,” προφήτης . . . κοσμεῖ τὴν πόλιν.

62. *C.I.A.* II, 465 b (p. 419), 6. . . τα τῇ τε Ἀ[θην]ᾶ τῇ Πο[λυ]δ[ος] | καὶ τ[οῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς.

63. *C.I.A.* II, 1171 (Base on Acropolis). ὁ δῆμος ὁ Χίων Φησίνον Σκυθίνου Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάδι καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσι.

64. *Aelian, Var. Hist.* II, 9. ὦ Πολιάς Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἐλευθέριε Ζεῦ καὶ Ἑλλήνων θεοὶ πάντες.

65. *Lucian, Sympos.* 32 (III, p. 440). ἔπειτα ὥμοσα κατὰ τῆς Πολιάδος μὴ εἰληφέναι.

66. *Lucian, Fisherman*, 51, p. 618. Χρύσιππε, πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς εἰπέ . . .

67. *Lucian, Ἑταιρ. Διαλ.* 7, 1 (III, p. 296). ΜΟΥΣ. Ὄμωσε γάρ, ὦ μήτερ, κατὰ ταῖν θεοῖν καὶ τῆς Πολιάδος.

68. *Schol. Luc. Ἑταιρ. Διαλ.* 7, 1. ταῖν θεαῖν] Κόρη καὶ Δήμητρα αἱ θεαί, ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ ἡ Πολιάς. Ὅρκος δὲ τοῦτο Ἀθηναίων, ὡς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ Διόσκουροι, οἳ καὶ ὁμνούνουσιν, νῆ τὸ Σιώ. *Bourdel e ms. Paris.*

The priestess of Athena Polias was a woman who had been married (1),² and regularly of the family of the Eteoboutadae,

¹ Accounts of moneys of Athena Polias and Athena Niké from 421-418 B.C. Mention of Opisthodomus in line 20. Valuable for cults and names of gods who had money in the Opisthodomus.

² See *C.I.A.* II, 374, 25, where the husband of one probably is named; and possibly *C.I.A.* II, 1379, where the Philotera mentioned may have been priestess

though in Roman times we find apparently others occupying the position (11). We have the names of a number recorded, principally in inscriptions on statues of priestesses dedicated to the goddess.¹ Among those most worthy of note are Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops; Junia Megiste with her Roman name, and perhaps not an Eteoboutad; Lysimache, who, according to Pliny, served sixty-four years, and is very likely the one of whose modesty Plutarch tells the story, and the *εὐήρης πρεσβύτης*, whose statue about a cubit high Pausanias noticed near the temple of Athena;² and Penteteris, whose name may record the fact of her birth in the year of the Great Panathenaea. Priestesses were at times praised by public decree for faithful service,³ and we must regret that in the example which we have the name is missing, though those of her father and of her husband are given.⁴ As in the case of the priestesses of Hera at Argos, dates at Athens were sometimes given as 'during the service of the priestess so-and-so.'⁵

Any mention of the priestess of Athena on the Acropolis we may without much risk refer to the priestess of the Polias. Hence we may believe that she is the one to whom, during the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, the *φαιδυντής* of the two goddesses announced the arrival at Athens of the sacred objects and the military escort (*στρατιά*) of the Ephebi which accompanied them from Eleusis. She also in the peculiar festival of the Scirophoria marched from the Acropolis to a certain place called Sciron a short distance on the Sacred Way,⁶

after Penteteris (No. 34, p. 379). The numbers in parentheses, as before, refer to the above passages.

¹ These are as follows: Agraulus or Aglaurus (12), Alexandra (20), Ameino-cleia (23), Chrysis (17), Isidora (24), Junia Megiste (11), Callisto (18), Lysimache (13, 14, 15), Megiste (19), Penteteris (16, 34, 35), Philippe (10), Philtera or Philotera (5 and note, 34?, 39), Strato-clea or Strato-cleia (22, 41), Stratonice (21), Theodote (37).

² See note 4 on p. 364.

³ Compare the case of the chief vestals at Rome.

⁴ Köhler, in his note, says, "Nomen sacerdotis *Λυσιστράτην* fuisse suspicor."

⁵ See passages 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 34, 35, 37, 39, 41.

⁶ See Paus. I, 36, 4.

in company with the priests of Poseidon Erechtheus and of the Sun, under the large white umbrella borne by the Eteobutadae.

A curious custom in connexion with this priestess is mentioned by Strabo, that she was not allowed to touch native green-cheese, but foreign cheese only was set before her. Eustathius, however, says that she was not allowed to taste cheese, and that in sacrifices she did not offer a female lamb (*ἀμνήν*).

Though desiring to be brief in his description of the Acropolis, to which Heliodorus had devoted fifteen books, while Polémon had composed four on the *ἀναθήματα* alone, Pausanias considers it worth while to speak at length of the maidens called Errephori, who dwelt not far from the temple of the Polias, and to relate the closing duty of their office, the mysterious night journey to the underground chamber in the city below, where they exchanged the unknown sacred objects which they had brought for others equally unknown, which they carried back to the temple on the Acropolis. The recent excavations on the north side of the rock conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society¹ have laid open two ways by which they might pass nearly directly down from the temple to the city, either through the cave of Aglaurus or by the well-preserved flight of steps in the angle of the wall west of the Erechtheum, thence through a small gate now walled up, and down the rock-cut stairs leading to the level of the caves of Pan and Apollo. Pausanias gives the number of the Errephori as two, but there were in fact four. The foundations of their supposed dwelling are pointed out on the Acropolis, but their ball-ground must be sought for elsewhere than on the former site—the terrace south of the Erechtheum, where the foundations of the Hecatompedon were concealed. I do not propose to discuss all the facts about these young servants of Athena,² but

¹ See *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.* 1897, pt. 1, pp. 1–32; *Τοπογραφικά Ἀθηνῶν*, by P. Kabbadias.

² Beside the *ἐρρηφόροι* of Athena Polias and Pandrosus, we know of others in the service of Gē Themis, *C.I.A.* III, 318; Eileithyia *ἐν Ἀργαῖς*, *C.I.A.* III, 319; and Demeter and Coré, *C.I.A.* III, 919.

will refer to a few points only. As Errephori¹ they performed service to Pandrosus² as well as to Athena Polias, the weaving of whose peplus by the *ἐργαστῖναι* they superintended. We have the names of several in inscriptions of Roman times, when it seems to have been the custom for the proud and happy families of these honored young girls to dedicate statues of them to the goddess.³

In only one of the passages is there mention of the *ἐργαστῖναι*, in an inscription which records a decree proposed by one Meliteus to crown and praise certain maidens who had wrought the wool for the peplus for Athena, and to permit them to offer to the goddess a golden bowl (*φιάλη*) worth one hundred drachmas as a memorial of their piety and zealous service. The names of the maidens, as well as the decree, were cut on a marble stele, and set up beside the temple of Athena Polias.

The Praxiergidae were men whose duty it was to clothe the ancient image of Athena, that is the Polias *ξόανον*, and at the feast of the Plynteria⁴ in Thargelion to remove the dress and cover up the image. The day of this ceremony was regarded by the Athenians as preëminently a *dies nefastus* (to borrow a Latin term), and when Alcibiades returned to Athens just at this time, it was regarded as an evil omen for him, the face of the goddess being covered.

The Panathenaic festival was in honor of Athena Πολιάς, and we learn also of other dedications or sacrifices to this

¹ Pausanias spells the name with an initial A; while in the inscriptions where the first letter is preserved we find uniformly an E.

² See Nos. 18, 37, 40.

³ The names are Anthemia (31), Apollodora (39), Athenodora or Athenaïs (?) (30), Nausistrate (18), Panariste (40), Phila (37), Stratonice (41), Tertia (24), and Xenistrate (39). Parts of three others are Pha- (38), -ste (35), -sistrate (36). Possibly *C.I.A.* III, 902 (§ IV, No. 3, on p. 386) belongs here, and would add the name Theano to the above.

⁴ The Plynteria are ascribed by Hesychius (*s.v.*) to Aglaurus, while Photius (12) says that the Plynteria were instituted to commemorate the washing of clothes after a year's mourning on account of the death of Aglaurus; the Callynteria, because Aglaurus is thought to have been the first priestess to dress (or adorn, *κοσμήσαι*) the gods.

goddess. To mention only those in passages referring by name to the Polias, we have the following.

The scholiast on the *Odyssey* (49) gives us a third¹ version of the rape of Oreithyia by Boreas, based on the narrative of Acusilaus, which runs that Erechtheus, the king of the Athenians, had a daughter whose name was Oreithyia, most conspicuous for her beauty. One day he robed her fitly, and sent her as a *κνηφόρος* to offer sacrifice on the Acropolis to Athena Polias. But the wind Boreas, having fallen in love with the maiden, snatched her away, eluding those who were observing and guarding her.²

Each year, according to Herodotus, the Epidaurians had to make a sacrifice to Athena Polias and Erechtheus in return for a gift of olive wood, which they had used to make two images.

In 362 B.C. the Athenians made a treaty with the Arcadians, Achaeans, Eleans, and Phliasians. It was decreed that the herald should vow to various gods, including Athena Polias, a sacrifice and procession in case the alliance should prove advantageous to the people of the Athenians.

About 166 B.C. the people of Myrine in Lemnos, in return for the help given them by the Athenians, chose ambassadors to come to Athens, that they might thus publicly return thanks, and these were to offer sacrifice to Athena Polias, as the chief divinity of the city, and dedicate to her a crown and some suitably inscribed *ἀνάθημα*.

An inscription of about the middle of the first century before our era tells of sacrifices called *ἐξιτητήρια* offered by the ephebi according to ancestral usage to Athena Polias and certain other divinities, specified below, as (Ge) *κουροτρόφος* and Pandrosus, all worshipped on or close to the Acropolis; hence this custom may well be regarded as very early.

¹ Plato, *Phaedr.* 229 B, gives the usual account of her seizure while playing on the banks of the Ilissus; while in 229 D of our text (bracketed in Hermann's Teubner edition) we have reference to another version, which located the rape on the Areopagus.

² No one who has felt the force of the north wind on the Acropolis can fail to appreciate this story.

The decree passed under the administration of Lycurgus relating to the yearly celebration of the Panathenaea (47) mentions a sacrifice to Athena Polias and Athena Niké. These two Athenas are frequently coupled, as in the familiar line of the *Philoctetes* (55 above), where they are one. They also had their moneys together (56, 57, 58, 59).

It may be of interest to note the various associations of Athena Polias and other divinities as we find them in our passages. Those with Niké, Pandrosus,¹ and Poseidon-Erechtheus have been referred to already. She is mentioned with Demeter and Coré, coupled with them in solemn oaths (67, 68), and was formally notified of their mysteries by the *φαιδυντής* (26). With the *Σεμναὶ θεαὶ* in an oath (60), and a sacrifice (51). With the local heroes in the same oath. With Helios in the Scirophoria (27, 28). With Themis *Βουλαία* (61). With Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* (64). With other gods (51, 59, 62, 63, 64).

Most solemn oaths were sworn by the Polias, as well alone (65, 66) as with other divinities, of which instances have just been noted (60, 67, 68).

IV. Anathemata outside of the temple.² Other notices.

1. *C.I.A.* II, 1377 (Base found near Erechtheum). [*Αθηνᾶς Πολιᾶδο[ς]* *ἰέ[ρειαν]*.

2. *C.I.A.* II, 1382. **ἐ[ρρηφορ- | Μ]ηδει[ο- | Νικ]οδρ[ομ-*

3. *C.I.A.* III, 902 (Base with metrical inscription in iambic trimeter).³

*Ἐρρηφόρον πατήρ με, πόντα, σ[οί, θεά,
Σαραπίων μήτηρ τ' ἔθηκ[ε X]ρη[σίμῃ]
τὴν σὴν, Θεαν[ώ], πέντε καὶ [συναίμονες.]
δὸς δ' οἷς μὲν ἦβην, οἷς δ[ὲ γηράσκειν καλῶς.]*

4. *C.I.A.* III, 917 (Base found between Parthenon and Propylaea). [*τὴν δεῖνα* *ἴου ἐξ Οἴο[υ θυγατέ]ρα ἐρρηφορήσ[ασαν Ἀ]θηνᾷ Πολιά[δι ἡ | μήτ]ηρ Ἐλένη Ἀ. ἐκ Μαραθωνίων | [εὐσεβ]είας [ἔνεκα].*

5. *C.I.A.* II, 1420. *Δήμαρχος Ἀριστίωνος Παιανιεύς . . Ἀθηνᾷ Πολιάδι . . τὴν ἑαυτοῦ [γυναῖκα or θυγατέρα].*

¹ In common service of the *ἐρρηφόροι* (18, 37, 40); in the *ἐπιτηθρία* of the ephēbi (53). Their temples were also contiguous (No. 12 under § I, p. 358).

² In addition to those mentioned above in § III.

³ See note 3, p. 384.

6. *C.I.A.* II, 1171 (Base). ὁ δῆμος ὁ Χίων Φησῖνον Σκυθίνου Ἀθηναῖ Πολιάδι καὶ θεοὺς πᾶσι.¹

7. *C.I.A.* III, 826 (Base of Hymettus marble, found near Propylaea). [.. με]γάλων(?) ἀντιδιδόντες Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Πολιάδι ἀνέθηκα[ν] | κόσμον τῷ φρουρίῳ ὃ αὐτ[ὸς] | οἰκείους ἀναλώμασιν | κατεσκεύασεν.

8. *C.I.A.* III, 3907 (Herm, north of Parthenon). .. αὐτοῦ μνημεῖον Ἀθηναῖ Πολιάδι | .. | θεῶν πυλ(ω)ροὺς ἀνέθεσαν ...

9. *C.I.A.* III, 872 (Base found west of Erechtheum). [Ἴ]οννίαν Λεπείδαν, | Σειλανοῦ Τορκου[ά]του θυγατέρα, ἱέρεια | Ἀθηναῖς Πο[λ]ιάδος | Ἰουνία Μ[ε]γίστη, Ζ[ε]ν[ω]ν[ος] Σ[ου]νιέ[ως] | [θυγάτηρ].²

10. *C.I.A.* II, 1439 (Base of black Eleusis marble). Πύρρος Νεοκλείδου Λαμπτρέως ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηναῖ Πολιάδι. Μνασίας ἐπόησε.³

11. *C.I.A.* II, 1430 (Base). [Μ]ιδων(?) Ἀπολλ[ο]δώρου Φρεά[ρριος] Ἀθηναῖ Πολιάδι ἀνέθη[κε]. Ἐξήκεστος ἐπόησεν. After 350 B.C.

12. *C.I.A.* III, 133 (Votive offering in Erechtheum). .. Ἀθηναῖ Πολιάδι εὐξαμένη ἀνέθηκεν.

13. *C.I.A.* III, 174 (Fragment of Pentelic marble). [Π]ολιάδι.

14. *C.I.A.* IV, 1, 373,²⁷. Πολιάδος Ἀθηναῖς.⁴

15. *C.I.A.* IV, 1, 373,¹⁸². Πολιάδος.⁴

16. *C.I.A.* III, 931 (Base). Εὐδήμος Πολυνέκτου Φλυεὺς | καὶ Ἀγαρίστῃ Πολυνέκτου Φλυέως | θυγάτηρ τὴν μητέρα Στρατόκλειαν | Εὐδήμου Μελιτέως θυγατέρα Ἀθηναῖ Πολιάδι.

17. Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* IV, 47 (p. 13 Sylb.). Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ὀλυμπίασι Δία καὶ τὴν Ἀθήνησιν Πολιάδα ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος κατασκευάσαι Φειδίαν, παντὶ πον σαφές.

18. Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* IV, 52 (p. 15 Sylb.). Αἱ δὲ χελιδόνες, καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων τὰ πλεῖστα, κατεξαιρουσιν αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εἰσπετόμενα, οὐδὲν φροντισάντα οὔτε Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς, οὔτε Ἐπιδαυρίου Ἀσκληπιοῦ, οὐδὲ μὴν Ἀθηναῖς Πολιάδος, ἣ Σαράπιδος Αἰγυπτίου· παρ' ὧν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀναισθησίαν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐκμανθάνετε.

19. *C.I.A.* III, 1054 (Catalogue on one side of herm of Pentelic marble, as are nos. 1055 and 1056. This is apparently a list of *prytaneis* from the tribe Attalis), 7. Ἐπώνυμος· Πολιάς Ἀθηναῖ. About 200 B.C.

20. *C.I.A.* III, 1055 (see on 1054; also tribe Attalis), 7. Ἐπώνυμος· Πολιάς Ἀθηναῖ.

21. *C.I.A.* III, 1056 (tribe Pandionis), 9. [Ἐπώνυμ]ος· Πολιάς Ἀθηναῖ.

22. *C.I.A.* III, 1062 (Herm, similar to above, tribe Antiochis), 19. Πολιάς Ἀθηναῖ.

23. Aristides, *περὶ ῥητορικῆς*, Or. XIV (Dind. II, p. 112, l. 13 ff.; Canter. III, 141). εἰ γὰρ ἂν μὴδ' οἱ θεοὶ πώποτε πεποιήκασιν, μὴδὲ παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς

¹ = No. 62, under § III, p. 381.

² = No. 11 under § III, p. 377.

³ Corrected reading. The *C.I.A.* omits Λαμπτρέως, and gives Ἀθηναῖ. See p. 389.

⁴ My conjectures.

Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος εἶχεν ἀπαιτῆσαι, ταῦτα παρὰ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Περικλέους ἀπαιτεῖ, αὐτὸν (τὸν Πλάτωνα) ἐρωτῶ πῶς οὐ συκοφαντεῖ.

24. Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1884, p. 167 f., 15. .. ἀναθε]ῖναι (τ)ῇν μὲ[ν ἐν ἀκροπό]λει παρὰ [τῇ Π]ολιάδι Ἀθηνᾶ ... *Ibid.* 48. [π]αρὰ τὰ μακρὰ τίχη Ἀθηνᾶς [Π]ολιάδος.

A few topics remain to be noticed briefly in our treatment of the passages containing the name of Athena Polias.

Beside the statues of priestesses and Errephori erected on the Acropolis, to which reference has been made in the preceding section, we have evidence that others were so set up, and in many cases specifically dedicated to Athena Polias, namely, in inscriptions found on the bases of the same. Some of these inscriptions give us the names of the persons represented and those of the donors, and some the circumstances of the honor. For example, a certain Demarchus, son of Aristion of Paeania, dedicated a statue of his wife or daughter (the word is gone, but the gender of the person is known from the article). The people of Chios, about the time of Augustus, so honored a certain Phesinus, son of Scythinus. An inscription of Roman times tells us how the Athenians in return for great benefits erected a statue to some man, whose name unfortunately is lost, as an ornament to the guard-house (*φρούριον*) which he had built at his own expense, probably near the Propylaea, where the base of Hymettus marble was found. One of these statues was a herm, found to the north of the Parthenon; the inscription is obscure as well as mutilated, but enough remains to show that it was a memorial (*μνημεῖον*) of some one, and that it, and very likely some others, were set up as gate-keepers (*πυλωρούς*) to the goddess, perhaps before her temple, as they were before the dwellings of her people (cf. p. 368).

Another base with an inscription of Roman times tells us that a priestess of Athena Polias, of the name of Junia Megiste, daughter (?) of Zeno of Sunium, erected a statue of Junia Lepēda, daughter of Silanus Torquatus, perhaps a favorite namesake. This is not stated specifically to be dedicated to Athena Polias, but was so presumably.

Only one other passage deserves special mention, since the reading in the *C.I.A.* was corrected by Mr. Carroll N. Brown of the American School in 1897, who rediscovered the stone, a block of black Eleusis marble, walled into the south side of the Niké *pyrgos*. I have given the corrected reading above with the variants of the *C.I.A.* in a note. The dative 'Αθηνᾶ lacks the final ι.

Dr. Dörpfeld maintains that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias. To this I have referred above (p. 361, n. 2) in discussing the scene in the *Fisherman* of Lucian. He certainly would not claim that the old image of the Polias was ever kept in the Parthenon; so that it could be a temple of the Polias only in a different sense. The only positive evidence that it was so styled which I have found in ancient authors and inscriptions is in two passages of the *Protrepticus* of Clement of Alexandria, who states in the first, as a fact well known probably to every one, that Phidias made of gold and ivory the Zeus at Olympia and the Polias at Athens; in the second passage he classes together the Olympian Zeus, the Epidaurian Asclepius, the Athena Polias, and the Egyptian Serapis, two of these being certainly chryselephantine. But this single testimony of a Christian writer of the early third century can hardly counterbalance so much that looks in the other direction.

In late Alexandrine times in lists of *prytaneis* of different tribes we have Athena Polias named as ἐπώνυμος, of which custom I have found as yet no explanation.

The other passages of our list hardly require notice, except an odd mention of the 'long walls of Athena Polias' in the last.

Having now finished the treatment of the passages containing the name of Athena Polias, I desire to discuss the route of Pausanias in the much-mooted passage where he describes the Erechtheum and the temple of Athena Polias (I, 26, 5–I, 27, 2). The best statement presented by the advocates of

the traditional view is that of Dr. Frazer, in his monumental edition of *Pausanias*, vol. II, pp. 337 f. In his main text he absolutely ignores the possibility of the temple of the Polias being any other than part of the Erechtheum, though in an appendix in the same volume (pp. 553-582) he reprints with a few slight changes his paper on 'The Pre-Persian Temple on the Acropolis,' which appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XIII (1892-93), pp. 153-187, and to which I have previously referred.

In my own interpretation of the passage (see Fig. 2), I shall endeavor to treat the account of Pausanias as a straightforward and natural one, and as it might be understood by a visitor to the Acropolis to-day, who should seek to trace the periegete's course among the extant ruins. In I, 26, 4, after one of his historical digressions suggested by the statue of Olympiodorus southeast of the Parthenon (I, 26, 2), he says, "But I must get on in my account, if I am to describe in like manner all things in Greece." The next object he mentions is the seated Athena of Endoeus, and then (§ 5), "There is also a building called Erechtheum. Before the entrance is an altar of Zeus Most High." The position of this altar is, unfortunately, not known,¹ and so does not help us in determining by what porch Pausanias enters this building, which no one hesitates to identify with the one known to us by the same name. If the building was a temple, we should expect the entrance to be at the east end, where indeed we find a fine Ionic porch and behind it a cella, the largest, moreover, of the three apartments in the building. This would also be the natural en-

¹ Petersen, in *Athen. Mitth.* X (1885), 1 ff., seeks to show that the 'ἑσόδος' is the north door of the Erechtheum, by identifying the altar of Zeus ὑπατος with that of the θυηχόος, which stood in the north porch. The article was written, however, before the discovery of the Hecatompedon, when the temple of the Polias could be located nowhere else than in the Erechtheum. It may be noted also that the space between this porch and the Acropolis wall—and much more is this true of the porch itself—would give but scant room for an altar at which the peculiar ceremonies of the Buphonia could be performed to Zeus Polieus, who is generally identified with this Zeus Hypatus, while there could be no better place for it than on the open space before the eastern porch.

trance for a person coming from the southeast. I therefore believe that this was the ἔσοδος which Pausanias used.¹

"When you have gone in," he continues, "there are altars, (one) of Poseidon, on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus in accordance with a certain oracle, and (a second) of the hero Butes, and a third of Hephaestus. And there are paintings on the walls of the family of the Butadae." All these one would naturally place in the room into which this ἔσοδος led, namely, the east cella of the Erechtheum, where the three altars might stand very well side by side, facing the east in the usual manner, while on the three surrounding walls would be seen the frescoes, if so we understand *γραφαί*.

"And—for the building is a double one—there is sea-water within in a cistern." This we should hardly expect to find in the same part of the building with the objects just mentioned; else why the explanatory clause? Hence Pausanias here directs attention to the other part of the building, clearly the western portion on the lower level, where indeed we find the *θάλασσα Ἐρεχθίδς*, or at least its cistern. We have no evidence that any stairway led from the east cella to this western portion, and if there were such, we can hardly suppose tourists, or indeed any one but the priests, to have used it as a common passageway, any more than the stairs in the Maiden Porch.² So we may imagine the visitor, after leaving the room by the east porch, to have descended the stairs outside to the lower level, which stairs then ran close to the temple wall, and

¹ This is the view of Fergusson, *Trans. Inst. Brit. Architect.* 1875-76; and *J.H.S.* II (1881), 85; and Rangabé, *Athen. Mitth.* VII (1882), 262. The latter (*ibid.* 331) places the altars of Poseidon, Butes, and Hephaestus in the east cella of the building. For full bibliography and discussion, see Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausanias*, I, pp. 284 ff. C. Robert, in a letter to Dr. Dörpfeld, claims to have taught for twenty years that the altars were in the east cella, but puts the Athena Polias cult in the western part. He therefore explains *διπλοὺν γάρ, κτλ*, as I do here.

² This would work against Frazer's view that Pausanias passed from the western portion to the east room by such an inner staircase. A door and stairway inside would also break the continuity of the frescoes, on whichever side of the main partition wall, between the east and west halves of the building, they were painted. These frescoes would be better lighted in the east room unless the door was quite small.

not by the Acropolis north wall as at present. Here he enters the north porch, and is shown the marks of Poseidon's trident in the rock through the same aperture in the floor of the porch where one sees them to-day, and probably looks through a hole into the cistern of sea-water under the westernmost apartment. The priests or the guide would also call his attention to the sound of the waves to be heard there, provided the south wind were blowing. So far all is clear. We must not be surprised if Pausanias does not mention more to be seen here, when he has treated the Parthenon so briefly and passed by other objects without remark. Not a word about the architecture of the building or its peculiar plan, except the remark that it was a double structure. The next definite statement of a locality is when he describes objects in the temple of the Polias. What was that temple? What but the one where the old and most sacred image of Athena, which he has described (I, 26, 6) had its abode? Here, too, we must place the lamp. There are but three possible places where we can locate this *ναὸς τῆς Πολιάδος*. First, in the east cella of the building, where it is usually supposed to have been, and which undoubtedly was intended to receive the ancient image, as the building-inscription states; second, in the eastern of the two apartments of the west part of the Erechtheum, for the image and lamp could hardly have stood in the passageway between the North and Maiden porches, over the cistern; and third, in the building whose foundations lie to the south of the Erechtheum. The second possibility is hardly probable; for if the image faced the east as it should, it would have its back toward the entering spectator or worshipper—a dreadful omen!—and face the partition wall. The east cella has been filled already with the three altars, which it seems hardly natural to place in the middle room, especially as the cult of Poseidon-Erechtheus was of some importance in Athens, and Hephaestus was not a divinity to be slighted either. Moreover, as gods, Poseidon and Hephaestus should occupy a cella facing the east. The order of the narrative forbids the assump-

tion that the *ξόανον* and the lamp occupied the same apartment with these three altars. A weighty consideration is that unless the altars are located in the east cella we must interpret *διπλοῦν γὰρ τὸ οἶκημα* to mean that the building had two stories, the sea-water being in the basement. If, now, we suppose the old Athena image and the lamp of Callimachus to stand in the east cella of the old Hecatompedon, we find no such difficulties, and this building would be the next thing for the visitor to see, after his little side-trip to the 'tokens,' returning up the steps to the higher level again.¹ This building could not have escaped his notice, if still standing,—of course without its colonnade. Indeed, he must have passed it on his way to the east end of the Parthenon,² but following the natural route he would pass it without entering, and go first to the Parthenon and the south-eastern part of the Acropolis. On his return he would very likely reach the Erechtheum first, as the front of the old temple lies farther west than that of the Erechtheum. If we have no positive evidence that it still existed in the second century of our era, on the other hand we have no positive evidence of its demolition. An examination of the remains of the entablature still to be seen in the north wall of the Acropolis is enough to convince one that the Persian destruction was not so complete as we used to believe. That the temple was an important one before the Persian war is shown by its size, and if it was the temple of Athena Polias, it would naturally be the first one to be repaired, at least so as to serve until a new and more splendid abode for the goddess could be built. As we have concluded from our study of the passages about the *ἀρχαῖος νεώς*, it was this temple which received the name when the first Parthenon was begun, hardly before that time. It must have been allowed to stand for a long time after

¹ Or possibly using the stairway in the Maiden Porch, though it seems to me very doubtful if this was a public thoroughfare. Dr. Dörpfeld has authorized me to state here that he now accepts my theory of the route of Pausanias as regards the Erechtheum, and of the location of the three altars in the east cella. He has also so stated in his lecture at the Erechtheum, November 12, 1898.

² See above, pp. 366 ff.

480, for it was nearly sixty years before the Erechtheum was begun, which was designed to replace it, and over a decade more before it was finished. Even if we accept the hypothetical temple of Athena on the site of the Erechtheum, where are we to house the image while the latter was building?¹ Where more naturally than in this old temple, in which Dr. Dörpfeld believes it stood during all its history since the first completion of the building, and furthermore that it never left it, except when it accompanied the Athenians to Salamis? I believe he has laid rather too much emphasis on the possible opposition of the priesthood to the removal of the image to the Erechtheum, considering that this priesthood was in the family of the Eteobutadae, who ministered also to Poseidon-Erechtheus. But we have only to look over the south wall of the Acropolis to see another case of the same sort, where the old temple was not removed after the completion of the new one, nor was there here a transference of the image. Architectural considerations were subordinate to religious. Not to speak of the case of the Propylaea, where the plan for the south wing could not be carried out because the building would encroach on sacred precincts, that of the temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus just referred to affords an excellent example. The old building was if anything more inconveniently situated than the Hecatompedon without its colonnade, since it cut into a corner of the stoa behind the stage building.² Another example, which has been adduced by Dr. Dörpfeld, is of the two temples at Rhamnus (Fig. 3).³ I know of no instance where the Greeks deliberately tore down a temple, although they allowed many to fall into decay or to remain in ruins, unless the temple of Poseidon-Erechtheus be a case; but that was replaced by another temple on the same site, and the case is not quite parallel. At least the rear part of the

¹ Furtwängler, in his last article (see p. 346, note 1), expresses his belief that not only the colonnade, but also the whole temple, was removed when the Erechtheum was begun, and the image kept in an *aedicula*.

² For plan, see Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das Griechische Theatre*, Taf. I.

³ For plan of the temples, see Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. II, p. 452.

building was needed as a treasury until the completion of the Parthenon,¹ and was so used long after that event, if we admit its identity with the Opisthodomus, for which the evi-



FIGURE 3.—THE TWO TEMPLES AT RHAMNUS.

dence is most excellent. But it seems hardly probable that only this part of the temple was restored after the Persians

¹ Körte, in his paper (see p. 346, note 1), invents the novel theory that the Hecatompedon was not this old temple at all, but a sacred precinct lying to the south of it, about where the east cella of the Parthenon now stands. The *οικήματα ἐν τῷ Ἑκατομπέδῳ* of the inscription (*C.I.A.* IV, pp. 137 ff., l. 17) he makes a series of small treasuries, like those at Olympia, and thus robs the old temple of the treasure long believed to be there. When the new temple, the Parthenon, was built, it occupied part of this temenos, and the old name Ἑκατομπεδον was kept in *ἐκατομπεδος νεώς*. But he conveniently puts the precinct far enough to the north to preserve the line of treasuries, till their contents can be transferred to the western part of the Parthenon, which was called by both

left Athens,¹ still less that the front part was removed and the rest permitted to stand. Hence any indications of the continued existence of the building should not be lightly dismissed. The strongest argument for the continuance of the Polias image and its lamp in the Hecatompodon is Strabo's statement that the latter was in the ἀρχαῖος νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος, and if these had not been transferred to the Erechtheum in his time, there is no reason to suppose that they were there two centuries or a century and a half later. Pausanias, it is true, does not tell us that he has left the Erechtheum and entered another building, but the fact of a different name would be an almost sufficient indication in itself. A similar case is in I, 14, 1, ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δῆμητρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριππολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα.

A negative consideration is that to place in the Erechtheum, using the name to designate the whole building, as usual, all the statues, altars, and ἀναθήματα mentioned by Pausanias between I, 26, 4 and I, 27, 2, together with the altar of Lethe mentioned by Plutarch,² the four wooden statues of Lycurgus and his sons,³ and other things known to have been in the temple of Athena Polias, the temple of Athena, and the Erechtheum, would make that building uncomfortably crowded.

One point on which much stress is laid by the advocates of the traditional theory, and indeed with reason, is the joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus, which is clearly indicated in the passage from the Catalogue of Ships.⁴ I have given already reasons for believing that in later times they had different

names, Παρθενών and Ὀπισθόδομος, in a rather confusing manner. Having located the Hecatompodon and Opisthodomus elsewhere than in the old temple, there is now no reason to retain it after the Erechtheum was done. Furtwängler accepts this theory (p. 355, note 1), which is hard to deal with, as its author has obliterated all traces of the old precinct to which he gives the name Hecatompodon. But the application of this term to a precinct is not easy, nor is this the only difficulty in the way of our adopting the new view.

¹ See below, p. 399.

² *Quaest. Conv.* IX, 6, 741 a. = No. 10 under § I, p. 357.

³ [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* VII, 41, 844 a.

⁴ Quoted in note 3, p. 348.

sanctuaries. Certainly the testimony of Herodotus implies this, unless we assume a cult of Athena in the Ἐρεχθέος γηγενέος νηός, which he passes by in silence. Dr. Dörpfeld, who is the chief advocate of the theory that the worship of Erechtheus was separated from that of Athena, fails to explain how this separation was brought about, nor have I seen any suggestion offered.¹ I believe we may have the solution in a phrase of the Pausanias passage (I, 26, 5): “ἐσελθούσι δέ εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεὶ θύουσιν ἔκ του μαντεύματος.” That there was a sanctuary, at least a temenos, of Poseidon near the temple of Athena Polias, we know on good authority, and we may be sure that it included the ‘tokens’ of the trident marks and sea-water, being in fact the ground where the western portion of the Erechtheum now stands. It is probable that the worship of Poseidon was an old one on the Acropolis, and that the ‘contest’ represents one between rival cults of Athena and the Earth-Shaker. According to Hyginus, when Eumolpus came from the north to assist the Eleusinians in their war with Athens, he claimed the country as belonging to his father Poseidon.²

The history, I conceive, then, to have been as follows. The earth-born Erechtheus or Erichthonius, foster-child of Athena, was received into her ‘rich temple’ (the Hecatompodon), and there enjoyed divine honors with her at the time when the *Iliad* passage was composed. At some time between that and the fifth century B.C. an oracle came to the Athenians declaring that Erechtheus was Poseidon, and the cults of the two were then united in the Poseidon temple, the god now receiving the name Erechtheus as a surname. The Eteobutadae had formerly exercised the priesthood of their ancestor Erechtheus as well as that of Athena, and continued to hold both, but not necessarily in the same building. When the present Erech-

¹ Hitzig-Blümner's note, *Pausanias*, I, p. 287, gives the evidence for the identification of Erechtheus and Poseidon, with some theories regarding this.

² *Fab.* 46. In eo tempore Eumolpus, Neptuni filius, Athenas venit oppugnaturus, quod patris sui terram Atticam fuisse diceret.

theum was built to house both cults and supplant both temples, the old Poseidon-Erechtheus temple was necessarily removed, but not so the Hecatompedon, whose colonnade only — if that was restored after the Persian wars, as Dr. Dörpfeld now thinks — was in the way. It would not be strange if the Eteobutadae rather favored the plans of the architect, which included the transfer of the holy image to the east cella of the new temple, and the removal of the homely old temple of *poros*, instead of opposing them, but the image could not well be moved until the new cella was ready. It may be well here to note an important difference between these two cults: the cult of Poseidon-Erechtheus had no image, as far as we know. When all was ready for the transfer of the *ξόανον*, we can easily imagine reasons, popular and religious, which prevented this, and forbade the tearing down of the building which was in use as both temple and state treasury.¹ So the altars of Poseidon-Erechtheus, Hephaestus, and Butes may have been placed in the vacant east cella, and the building still have been called sometimes the 'temple of Athena.' It is not impossible also that worship was offered to her here, though no visible representation of the goddess was present, — a custom easily paralleled. Thus she would share the temple with Poseidon, as Plutarch says.

I mentioned above the close connexion between this question of the temple of the Polias and that of the Opisthodomus. It is not necessary here to enter into a full discussion of that question, but I may say that I heartily agree with those who identify 'the Opisthodomus' of literature and inscriptions with the opisthodomus or rear portion of the Hecatompedon, as the Erechtheum had no opisthodomus, and there are serious difficulties in making it the opisthodomus of the Parthenon, while the western half of the old temple with its three chambers squares exactly with what we know of this treasury from

¹ It was, moreover, a historic structure, and the same motives may have led to its conservation as often influence us to-day to spare such monuments as the Old South Church in Boston or Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

other sources. The view announced by Ernst Curtius,¹ and supported by Professor White, that after its destruction by the Persians the Hecatompedon was rebuilt only in its western half, which under the name Opisthodomus served long as the state treasury, I do not find satisfactory for the following reasons :

(1) It assumes a more complete destruction of the building than is warranted by the condition of the extant remains.

(2) It necessitates the extinction of what must have been an important cult, whether that of Athena Polias or not, or its transfer to another site.

(3) The architectural remains give no evidence that the western half was standing longer than the eastern.

Finally, it seems rather improbable that the Athenians should have rebuilt only half of this building, and cleared away the rest.

The testimony of scholiasts and lexicographers is that this Opisthodomus was situated behind the temple of Athena, or, more definitely, of Athena Polias. Insisting upon the strict use of ὀπισθεν in these definitions, and understanding the word νεώς or ἱερόν to designate not a part but the whole of a building, Professor White comes to the conclusion that it must be an entirely separate structure from this temple. No one would dispute his interpretation of ὀπισθεν, but that of νεώς seems less certain ; but before discussing this point it will be advisable to set forth the remainder of his theory. He holds the Erechtheum to be the temple of Athena Polias, regarding Frazer's treatment of the evidence in favor of the traditional view as final and conclusive. The solution of the problem, then, he finds in the western half of the Hecatompedon, which he locates *behind* the Erechtheum by taking the north porch as the principal entrance, and hence the north side as the front of

¹ In the November session of the Archaeological Society of Berlin, 1890 (see *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1890, p. 163, and *Harvard Studies*, VI (1895), p. 40, note 3).

the building. The south side would then be the rear, and the western half of the Hecatompedon lying southerly from the Erechtheum would be behind it.

Several objections might be brought against this arrangement, but aside from the question whether this idea of the frontage of the temple is correct, we have a difficulty in the situation of this solitary half of the old temple. A glance at the ruins or at a recent plan of the Acropolis will reveal this (Fig. 2). The eastern wall of the Opisthodomus is about on a line with the western wall of the Erechtheum, and hence the former building cannot be said to lie *behind* the latter except in a most general sense.

But does the word *ὀπισθεν* force us to believe the Opisthodomus an entirely separate building from the *νεὸς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος*? All depends on the use here of *νεὸς*, which is admitted sometimes to have the sense of *cella*, though perhaps more often applied to the whole building. A natural and pertinent question would be whether a Greek always meant exactly the same thing when he spoke of the *νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς* or the *νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος*. May there not have been a differentiation in the use of the word according as it was employed in an architectural or a religious sense, and all the more in case of a building whose western half was of a semi-secular character, and was to all intents and purposes a separate structure, though covered by the same roof with the eastern half? The plan of the building seems to exclude the possibility of doors in the partition wall between the two halves, and, as Dörpfeld notes,¹ there was no longer a colonnade to give unity to the building. If we may adduce an example from our own manner of speech, we hear the term 'church' applied both to the whole building set apart for religious purposes, and to the particular portion where the chief services of congregational worship take place, while another apartment designated 'chapel' or 'vestry' may be under the same roof, hence *in* the church in the first (architectural) sense, but also referred to as 'be-

¹ *Athen. Mitth.* XXII (1897), 169.]

hind' or 'under' or 'at the side of the church,' in the second (religious) use of the word. The Opisthodomus would thus lie behind (to the west of) the proper *νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνῶς*, and under the circumstances would be so defined rather than as in the back part of it. If this argument be sound, we have in the definition of the Opisthodomus no hindrance to our locating the cult of Athena Polias in the eastern cella of the Hecatompedon, where other considerations would lead us to place it, but rather a confirmation of the theory. There will then be no necessity to regard the north side of a temple as its front, contrary to the usual custom, or to use *ὀπισθεν* in any but the strictest sense. With the image and cult of the Polias restored to the Hecatompedon the term *ἀρχαῖος νεὸς* may receive its natural interpretation, and the narrative of Pausanias be made more simple. We can now understand how Herodotus could designate it simply as *τὸ ἱερόν* without ambiguity, which would not be the case were the principal Athena cult on the Acropolis in another temple on the present site of the Erechtheum, and how he could speak of it as if standing at the time of his visit to Athens. Furthermore the few difficulties of this view can be met by reasonable explanations, as, for example, by admitting that the Erechtheum was sometimes called a temple of Athena.

As we have seen, there is good reason for believing that this old temple was seen and mentioned by both Strabo and Pausanias as that of the Polias. How long it stood after the visit of the latter, we cannot say. But in the ruin of so many buildings on the Acropolis in its checkered history since then, when the Parthenon and Erechtheum were preserved largely by their conversion into Christian churches, and later into a mosque and the palace of the Turkish pasha, it need not excite our wonder if this temple, of poorer material and more easily demolished, was used as building material for houses or for the repair of the Acropolis walls themselves.

The theory here advocated, being somewhat revolutionary, naturally provokes attack, and being new has to bear the

burden of proof; it is, I believe, winning more and more adherents. Though it may be still only a theory, the traditional view cannot claim to be based on indisputably established facts, and ere long may even be called upon to explain its reason for being.

ARTHUR STODDARD COOLEY.

ATHENS, 1899.

INDEXES

I. PASSAGES CONTAINING THE NAME (ATHENA) ΠΟΛΙΑΣ

CITATION	QUOTED	MENTIONED
Aelian, <i>Var. Hist.</i> ii, 9	381	
Aeschines, ii, 147	376	
<i>Schol.</i> ii, 147 (3 times)	376	
Life, in Westermann's <i>Vitar. Scr. Gr.</i>		
<i>Min.</i> p. 267, VI, 2	376	
Apostolius, i, 99 = Zenobius, i, 56	370, 373	
Aristides, xlv (π. ῥητορικῆς), Dind. ii, p. 112, l. 13	387	
Aristophanes, <i>Birds</i> , 828	370	
<i>Schol. Birds</i> , 827	370, 380	
<i>Schol. Knights</i> , 1169	357	359, 361
<i>Schol. V, Plut.</i> 1193	358	346 and n. 3, 358 n. 5
		369
Arsenius, ii, 56 = Zenobius, i, 56	370	373
Clem. Alex. <i>Protrep.</i> iii, 45, p. 13 Sylb.	357, 371	359, 375
iv, 47, p. 13 Sylb.	387	389
iv, 52, p. 15 Sylb.	387	389
Demosthenes, <i>Schol.</i> xxii, 13	361, 369	361, 372
Dinarchus, <i>ag. Demos.</i> (1), 64	381	
Diogenianus, i, 26 = Zenobius, i, 56	370	373
Dionys. Halic. <i>de Din.</i> 3 = Philochorus p. 146, q.v.	358	
Etym. Mag. s.v. Ἐρεσβουράδαι	376	
Euseb. <i>Praep. Evang.</i> iii, 8 = Plut. <i>de Daedal.</i> , q.v.	369	
Eustathius, <i>Il.</i> X, 451, p. 1279, 40	358	366
<i>Od. a</i> 357, p. 1423, 8	372	375
<i>Od. λ</i> 634, p. 1704, 37 ff.	370	
Harpocration, s.v. Ἐρεσβουράδαι	376	
Herodotus, v, 82	380	385
Hesychius, s.v. Οἰκουρὸν δφιν	372	375 and n. 2
Himerius Soph., <i>Ecl.</i> v, 30	357	362 f.
Homer, <i>Schol. Od.</i> ξ 533	380	348 n. 2, 385
Lucian, <i>Fisherman</i> 21, p. 59 (twice)	357	361 f.
Ἐταυρ. Διαλ. vii, 1, p. 296	381	386
<i>Schol. Ἐτ. Διαλ.</i> vii, 1	381	386
<i>Sympos.</i> 32, p. 440	381	386

CITATION	QUOTED	MENTIONED
Pausanias, i, 27, 1	371	374
i, 27, 3	358, 378	365, 383
Philochorus, fr. 146 (Müller <i>F.H.G.</i> i, p. 408)	358, 372	364
Philostratus, <i>Vit. Apoll.</i> iii, 14	369	373
Photius, <i>s.v.</i> <i>Ἐρεοβουράδαι</i>	376	
<i>Οἰκουρὸν δφιν</i>	372	375
Plutarch, <i>de Daed.</i> Plat. fr. 10	369	372
<i>Demosth.</i> 26	372	
<i>Praec. ger. reip.</i> 5, 9, 802 B	381	386
<i>de vitioso pud.</i> 14, 534 C	377	364, n. 4, 382
Sophocles, <i>Philoctetes</i> , 134	383	386
Strabo, ix, 11, p. 394 end	378	383
ix, 16, p. 396	349, 357, 370	353, 357 n. 1, 359, 361
Zenobius, i, 56	370	373
<i>C.I.A.</i> I, 188, 4	381	
188, 7	380	
90, 11	381	
273 h, 8 and 9	381	381 n. 1
<i>C.I.A.</i> II, 57 b, 7	380	385
163, 22	380	386
332, 44	358	365
374, 10 and 21	378	381 n. 2, 382 and n. 4
*464, 6	350, 358	354, 358 nn. 1, 3, 369
465 b, 6	381	
481, 5 and 59	380 f.	385
649, 13	371	374
678 A, ii, 11	371	374
699, col. ii, 36	371	374
724 B, 8 and 13	371	374
735 (espec. l. 18)	350 n. 6	371, 375
*737 A, col. ii, 9 and 12	371	374
1171	381, 387	388
1377	386	
1390, 4	379	
*1391, 1	379	
1392 b, 1 and 5; and frag.	377	
1420	386	388
1430	387	
1439	387	387 n. 3, 389
<i>C.I.A.</i> III, 29, 10	376	
63, 4	347	
133	387	
174	387	
174 a, 1	377	
826	387	388
836, 1	377	
872, 4	377, 387	388
887, 4	377	
916, 4	377	
917	386	
918, 4	379	
931	387	
1054, 7	387	389

* By conjecture.

CITATION	QUOTED	MENTIONED
1055, 7	387	389
1056, 9	387	389
1062, 19	387	389
3853	381	
3907	387	368 n. 1, 388
<i>C.I.A.</i> IV,* 1, 179 d, 19 (p. 162)	381	
*279 a, 2	357	359
*373 ³⁷	387	387 n. 4
*373 ¹⁸²	387	387 n. 4
2, 109 b, 34	371	375
*231 b, 28	358	369
407 g, 9	377	
477 d, 25	358, 371, 379	358 n. 4, 369, 375
<i>C.I.G.</i> 2155, 14	371, 380	375, 385
<i>Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.</i> 1884, p. 167 f., 15 and 48	388	389
1895, p. 109, No. 23	378	
Inscription from Priene		380 n. 3

* By conjecture.

II. OTHER PASSAGES

CITATION	QUOTED	MENTIONED
<i>Anecdota</i> Bekkeri, s.v. Αἰδῶ	366 n. 1	366
Apollodorus, iii, 4, 6, 6	357, 370	349, 359, 373
iii, 14, 7	357, 370	349, 359, 375
Aristophanes, <i>Schol. Eccles.</i> 18	378	
<i>Schol. Lysist.</i> 273	350	354
<i>Schol. Lysist.</i> 758	372	375
<i>Schol. Thesm.</i> 834		378 n. 2
Athenaeus, ii, 30, 48 B		370
Athenagoras, <i>Pro Christianis</i> , 17	369	373
Bekker's <i>Anecdota</i> , s.v. Αἰδῶ (above)	366 n. 1	366
Demosth. <i>ag. Timocr.</i> xxiv, 136, p. 743	352 n. 1	351, 352
<i>Schol.</i> xxiv, 136	352 n. 2	352
Etym. Mag. s.v. Ἠγητορία		379 n. 2
Καλλυντήρια καὶ Πλυντήρια		379 n. 2
Euseb. <i>Praep. Evang.</i> x 9, 22	369	373
Eustath. <i>Il.</i> A, 197, p. 83	369 n. 3	
<i>Od.</i> ξ 81, p. 1752, 23 ff.	378	383
Harpocrat. s.v. Πλυντήρια		379 n. 2
Σκίρον	378	382
Herodotus, viii, 41	372	375
51	350 n. 2	
53, 54		349 n. 4, 401
55	349 n. 3, 372	349, 375, 397
Hesych. s.v. Αἰδοῦς Βωμός	366 n. 2	366
Καλλυντήρια		379 n. 2
Πλυντήρια		379 n. 2, 384 n. 4
Πραξιεργίδαι	380	

CITATION	QUOTED	MENTIONED
Hesych. s.v. Σκιρὰς Ἀθηνᾶ		378 n. 1
Homer, <i>Il.</i> B. 546-552	348 n. 3	348, 396, 397
Od. η 78-81	348 n. 1	348
Schol. V, <i>Od.</i> τ 34	370	
Hyginus, <i>Fab.</i> 46	397 n. 2	397
Lucian, <i>Fisherman</i> 47, p. 614	362 n. 2, 371	362, 374
51, p. 618	381	386
52, p. 619	362	362 n. 3
<i>Imagines</i> 4; 6		361 and n. 1
Pausanias, i, 1, 1	360 n. 1	360
i, 14, 1	396	
i, 17, 1	366 n. 3	366
i, 23, 9 and 10		366
i, 24, 1		367 f.
i, 24, 3		358 n. 2, 366
i, 26, 2		390
i, 26, 4		390, 396
i, 26, 5	397	364 and n. 1, 390
i, 26, 5—i, 27, 2		389 ff.
i, 26, 6	370	345 and n. 1, 373, 392
i, 26, 6 and 7	370	353 n. 4, 373 f., 392
i, 26, 7 (see 6 and 7)		
i, 27, 2	358	364 n. 4, 365, 396
i, 27, 4	377	364 n. 4, 382
i, 36, 4		382 n. 6
Frag. = i, 24, 3 (?)	358, 367	366 ff.
Philostratus, <i>Imag.</i> ii, 17	372	
Photius, s.v. Ἐρεοβοντάδαι		377 n. 1
Καλλυντήρια καὶ Πλυντήρια	377	379 n. 2, 384 n. 4
Πλυντήρια		379 n. 2
Σκίρον		378 n. 1
Σκίρόν	378	382
Σκίρός		378 n. 1
Σκίροφορία		378 n. 1
Phylarchus. <i>fr.</i> See Phot. s.v. Οἰκουρὸν δφιν (Index I)	372	375
Plato, <i>Phaedr.</i> 229 B		385 n. 1
229 D		385 n. 1
Pliny, <i>Nat. Hist.</i> xxxiv, 76	377	382
Plutarch, <i>Alcib.</i> 34	379	384
Comp. <i>Demet. et Anton.</i> 4, 2		358 n. 1
Numa, 9, 5 and 6	370, 376	374, 381
<i>Quaest. Conv.</i> ix, 6, 741 a	357	363, 364, 396 and n. 2
		398
<i>Sulla</i> , 13, 3	370	374
<i>Themist.</i> 10, 1	372	375 and n. 3
10, 4	370	373
[Plut.] <i>Vit.</i> X. <i>Oratt.</i> 841 b		377 n. 2
843 b	377	
843 e		377 n. 2
844 a		396 and n. 3
Pollux, viii, 41 <i>περισχοιναί</i>		379 n. 2
Suidas, Πλυντήρια		379 n. 2
Σκίρον		378 n. 1
Tertullian, <i>ad Nat.</i> i, 12	369	373
<i>Apol.</i> 16	369	373
Vitruvius, iv, 8, 4	357	359, 360 and n. 1, 363

CITATION	QUOTED	MENTIONED
Xenophon, <i>Hellen.</i> i, 6, 1 vii, 5	349	351 ff. 380 n. 2
<i>Collect. Anc. Gr. Insc. in Br. Mus.</i> pt. 3, etc.		364 and n. 2
<i>C.I.A.</i> I, 1, 24; 27, 28	355 n. 2	
93, 6	350	354
<i>C.I.A.</i> II, 74 a, 14	350 and n. 4	
163, 8 ff.	351	355
650, 2	350	354 and n. 3
652 B, 23	353 n. 1	353
672, 43	350	
733 A, col. II	350 and n. 6	354, 355 and n. 1
752, 11 and 12	350 and n. 5	
829	352 nn. 3, 4	352 and n. 3
1379	379	376 n. 2, 377 n. 3, 381 n. 2
1380	379	377 n. 3
1381	379	
1382	386	
1383	379	
1384	379	
1385	379	376 n. 2
1386	376	
1392	379	
1411, 4	376 n. 2	
<i>C.I.A.</i> III, 5, 13 ff.	370	382, 386
166	366 and n. 4	
318		383 n. 2
319		383 n. 2
367	366 n. 2	
902	386	384 n. 3
919		383 n. 2
921	378	
926	378	
<i>C.I.A.</i> IV, 1, c, 25-29 (pp. 3 ff.) pp. 137 ff., l. 17	351 and n. 1	395 n. 1
<i>C.I.G.</i> 6280, 30 and 31	349 n. 1	349

III. REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS, PERSONS, ETC.

<i>Archaeol. Anzeiger</i> , 1890, p. 163	399 n. 1
<i>Athen. Mitth.</i> vii (1882), 262, 331	391 n. 1
viii (1883), 57 ff.	358
ix (1884), 324-337; Taf. XV, XVI	360 n. 1
x (1885), 1 ff.	390 n. 1
ib., 275-277	345 n. 1
xii (1887), 198 f.	361 n. 2
xxii (1897), 159 ff.	346 n. 1
ib., 169	400 n. 1
Belger, Chr.	346 n. 1
<i>Berliner Philol. Wochenschr.</i> , November 6 and 13, 1897	346 n. 1
Brown, Carroll N.	389
Curtius, Ernst	399 and n. 1
Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge</i> , 384 c, 113, p. 563	351 n. 1

Dörpfeld, Wilhelm, 345, 346 and n. 1, 347, 348 and n. 2, 351 and n. 1, 352 n. 3, 353, 355 nn. 1, 2, 356, 360 n. 1, 361 n. 2, 362, 364, 365, 367 and n. 2, 373 n. 1, 374 n. 2, 389, 393 n. 1, 394, 397, 398.	
Dörpfeld u. Reisch, <i>Das Griech. Theater</i> , Taf. I.	394 n. 2
Dümmler	346 n. 1
<i>Εφημερίς ἀρχαιολ.</i> 1884, p. 167 f., 15 and 48*	388
<i>ib.</i> , 1895, p. 109, No. 23*	378
<i>ib.</i> , 1897, pt. I, pp. 1-32	383 n. 1
Fergusson	391 n. 1
Frazer, J. G.	346 and n. 2, 349, 353, 390, 391 n. 2, 399
Frazer, <i>Pausanias</i> , vol. ii. pp. 337 ff.	390
<i>ib.</i> , p. 492	394 n. 3
<i>ib.</i> , ii. Append., pp. 553-582	346 n. 2, 390
Furtwängler, A.	346 n. 1, 361, 365 n. 1, 394 n. 1, 395 n. 1
Harrison, Miss Jane	354 f.
Harrison and Verrall, <i>Mythol. and Monuments of Anc. Ath.</i> p. 414 f.	366 n. 4
<i>ib.</i> , p. 506	354 f. and n. 2
<i>Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.</i> vi (1895), 1 ff.	346 n. 1, 347
<i>ib.</i> , 34 f.	362 n. 1
<i>ib.</i> , 35 n. 1	361 n. 2
<i>ib.</i> , 36 n. 3	347 n. 1
<i>ib.</i> , 40 n. 3	399 n. 1
Heliodorus	383
Hitzig-Blümner, <i>Pausanias</i> I, pp. 284 ff.	391 n. 1
<i>ib.</i> , p. 287.	397 n. 1
<i>Inst. Brit. Archit.</i> , Trans. 1875-76	391 n. 1
Jahn, O., <i>Paus. Descr. Arc. Ath.</i> p. 27 f.	372 nn. 2, 3
<i>ib.</i> , App. Epig., No. 23, p. 53	350 n. 6
<i>ib.</i> , No. 24	350 n. 6
<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> , ii (1881), 85	391 n. 1
xiii (1892-93), 153 ff.	346 n. 2, 390
<i>ib.</i> , 171	353 n. 3
<i>ib.</i> , 172 ff.	353 n. 2
Kabbadias, P., <i>Τοπογραφικά Ἀθηνῶν</i>	383 n. 1
Kaibel, <i>Epig. Gr.</i> 1046, 89 and 90	349 n. 1
Köhler, Ulrich (in <i>C.I.A.</i>)	350 n. 6, 382 n. 4
Körte, G.	346 n. 1, 395 n. 1
<i>Mith. des deut. arch. Inst. Ath.</i> , see <i>Athen. Mith.</i>	
Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encycl.</i> , s.v. Athena, §§ 11-14, by Dümmler	346 n. 1
Petersen, C.	390 n. 1
Perrin, B.	348 n. 1
Polemon	383
Prott, Hans von	380 n. 3
Rangabé	391 n. 1
<i>Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.</i> , Bd. III (1898), 239-269	346 n. 1
Robert, C.	391 n. 1
<i>Sitzungsber. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.</i> 1898, III, 349 ff.	346 n. 1
<i>ib.</i> , 353 n. 1	365 n. 1
White, John Williams	346 n. 1, 347, 351 n. 1, 361 n. 2, 362 and n. 1, 399

IV. SPECIAL TOPICS AND PASSAGES

Altar of Αἰδώς, 358, 366, 367, 368.

ἀρχαῖος νεώς, see Old Temple.

Arrephori, see Errephori.

Athena Polias: cult, 345, 348 and n. 2, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 363, 376, 377, 380, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 391 n. 1, 399, 400.

* Inscriptions, see Index I.

- Athena Polias: image (ἑόραρον), 345, 349, 353, 354, 359, 361, 364, 369 and n. 3, 370, 372, 384, 389, 392, 393, 394, 396, 398.
 temple, 345, 346, 353, 354, 356, 357, 359, 361 and n. 2, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 371 n. 3, 373, 374, 375, 384, 389, 390 and n. 1, 392, 393, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401.
- Cecropium, 365 and n. 1.
- Erechtheum, 345, 346, 349, 351, 353, 355 and n. 2, 356, 359, 360, 361, 362 and n. 1, 363 and n. 1, 364, 365, 368, 375, 383, 389, 390 and n. 1, 391, 392, 393 and n. 1, 394 and n. 1, 395 n. 1, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401.
- Erechtheus, 348 and nn. 1 and 2, 349, 359, 363, 371, 372, 373, 375, 385, 386, 391, 396, 397.
- Ἐργαστήριον, 378, 379, 380, 384.
- Errephori, 365, 369 n. 1, 373, 378 f., 383 and n. 2, 384 and nn. 1 and 3, 386 n. 1, 388.
- Eteobutadae, 381, 382, 394, 397, 398.
- Eustathius, *ad Iliad.* X, 451, p. 1279, 40, 358, 366 ff.
- Hecatompedon, 346 n. 1, 351, 353, 355 and n. 2, 356, 361, 362 and n. 1, 363 and n. 1, 364, 365, 367, 368 n. 2, 383, 390 n. 1, 393, 394, 395 n. 1, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401.
- Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἀθῶνς Βωμός, 366 n. 2.
- Himerius Soph., *Ecl.*, v 30, 357, 362 f.
- Inscriptions, *C.I.A.* I, 1, 355 n. 2; II, 273 h, 9 and 10, 350 and n. 2; *do.* 829, 3, 352 n. 3; IV, 1, 373²⁷, 387 and n. 4; *do.* 373¹⁸², 387 and n. 4; from Priene, 380 n. 3.
- Körte's article, 346 n. 1, 395 n. 1.
- Lamp of Callimachus, 353, 370, 373, 374, 392, 393, 396.
- Lucian, *Fisherman*, 21 ff., 357, 361 f., 389.
- Maiden Porch, 356, 364 n. 3, 391 and n. 2, 392, 393 n. 1.
- Old Temple, 345, 346 and n. 1, 348, 349, 350 and n. 6, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 359, 361, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 373, 374, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 398, 400, 401.
- Old Temple of Athena, 349, 351, 353, 355, 356.
- Old Temple of Athena Polias, 350 n. 6, 354, 359, 367, 369, 373, 374.
- Olive, 371 and n. 3, 372, 375.
- Opisthodomus, 346 and n. 1, 347, 351, 352 and n. 2, 353, 354, 355, 374 n. 3, 395 and n. 1, 398, 399, 400, 401.
- Pandroseum, 352, 358, 364, 365, 372 f., 375.
- Parthenon, 345, 349, 353, 355 and n. 2, 356, 359, 361 and n. 2, 366, 367, 373 n. 1, 388, 389, 390, 392, 393, 395 and n. 1, 401.
- Parthenon a temple of the Polias, 389.
- Pausanias, i, 24, 3, lacuna, 366 ff.
 i, 26, 5, 396 ff.
 i, 26, 5—i, 27, 2, 389 ff.
- Pausanias's route on the Acropolis, 366 ff., 389 ff.
- Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* ix, 6, 363 f.
- Poseidon, Temple of, 362, 363, 375, 394, 397, 398.
- Poseidon-Erechtheus, 362, 363, 364, 383, 385, 386, 391, 392, 394, 397 and n. 1, 398.
- Πραξίεργίδαι, 373, 378, 379, 380, 384.
- "Pre-Persian" Temple, 349, 351, 390.
- Priestess of Athena, 376—378, 381, 382, 383, 388.
- Sacred serpent, 371, 372, 375.
- Strabo ix, 16, 352 f., 359, 401.
- Temples at Rhamnus, 394 and n. 2, 395 (fig. 3).
- "Tokens" of Poseidon, 391, 392, 393, 397.
- Vitruvius, IV, 8, 4, 357, 359 ff.
- White on Opisthodomus, 347, 351 n. 1, 361 n. 2, 399 ff.
- Xenophon, *Hellen.* i, 6, 1, 351 ff.
- ἑόραρον, see Athena Polias, image.